

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. IX, Nos. 6-7. DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY-OCTOBER, 1910. 3D SERIES

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

DES MOINES, JANUARY 18, 1860.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT,

*Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science,
Drake University.*

At two o'clock, Wednesday afternoon, January 18, 1860, the delegates to the Republican state convention assembled at Sherman's Hall, Third Street and Court Avenue, Des Moines. All contemporary accounts of the convention concur in declaring it the largest in point of numbers held in the State up to that time by the Republican party or by any other party. Both houses of the Legislature had adjourned, as many of its members were accredited delegates. General public interest in the work of the convention was so great that Sherman's Hall was "full to overflowing." For the first time in the history of the Republican party of Iowa its delegates had assembled for the sole purpose of selecting delegates to a national convention of the party.

(a) *The Preliminaries of Organization.*

The convention was called to order by Mr. John A. Kasson, chairman of the state central committee. On behalf of the committee Mr. Kasson nominated for temporary chairman, Mr. Ed Wright of Cedar county—a selection at once fitting and significant. He had been sent to the lower house of the General Assembly in 1856 and soon achieved distinction as a master of the technicalities of parliamentary procedure. Mr. Wright's home was near Springdale, John Brown's rendezvous in eastern Iowa previous to his raid on Harper's Ferry. He was a Quaker or Friend in religious belief. Like most, if not all, Friends, he was an Abolitionist in fact as well as in the-

ory, being a promoter of the Underground Railway.¹ For secretary of the convention *pro tem*, Mr. Geo. A. Hawley, a lawyer of Leon, Decatur county, then quite prominent in the party's councils in Southern Iowa, was nominated. Both nominations were confirmed without opposition.² In these days, Mr. Wright would have instructed or entertained or harassed the delegates with a speech, essaying to sound "key-notes" for the ensuing campaign, but the reports indicate nothing of the sort. The work of organization proceeded at once.

In constituting the committees on credentials and on permanent organization, eleven members were named, one from each of the judicial districts of the State. Among the members of the committee on credentials were Col. Alvin Saunders of Mt. Pleasant, and Senator M. L. McPherson of Winterset; and among the committee on permanent organization were Dr. J. C. Walker of Ft. Madison, John Edwards of Chariton, Samuel Merrill of McGregor, and W. P. Hepburn of Marshalltown—delegates who either participated in the convention at Chicago, or who later had distinguished careers in the State.

The committee on credentials found that its task of canvassing the certificates of the delegates or their proxies, even though there were no contesting delegations, was not to be done in a few minutes; and two hours or more were consumed before they completed their work. The convention meanwhile, being indisposed to adjourn, indulged in hilarity and speeches *ex tempore*. Sundry leaders or orators were called upon by their admirers or henchmen—Messrs. Wm. Penn Clarke, James F. Wilson, Jacob Butler, John Edwards, C. C. Nourse, J. B. Grinnell, John A. Kasson, Henry O'Connor and others—some responding, some refusing. One of the speakers and the incidents of his speech were out of the ordinary and illustrate in an interesting fashion some of the phases of the convention.

¹Charles Aldrich in *The Annals of Iowa* (3rd Series) II, 376-386, article on "General Ed Wright."

²*The Daily State Register*, Jan. 19, 1860. In what follows respecting the convention the account of the proceedings in the *Register*, Jan. 19 and 20, is taken unless otherwise stated.

The big chiefs, or those who would venture, had spoken; and intermittent noise and confusion prevailed. There was a moment's lull and some one (the writer suspects the late Charles Aldrich) called, "Johns!" Forthwith a striking figure arose in the fore left corner of the hall and started toward the platform. The convention was silent with astonishment for an instant, and then derisive laughter and shouts burst forth. The prospective speaker was of medium height, solidly built, vigorous of mien and tread, with a fine head firmly set on sturdy shoulders. He had seen sixty winters. Thin grey hair fell in straggling locks on his shoulders and a shaggy, unkempt beard covered his face and throat. His garb consisted of blue "home-made" jeans trousers and blouse that had done yeoman service. The artistic climax of the stranger's habiliments was his headgear. It consisted of a knit cap of blue and white yarn that "ran up to a peak," whence a tassel flared and flirted jauntily with the motion of body and head.

This picturesque figure advanced rapidly to the platform, indifferent to the uproar which his appearance produced, and faced the convention. He was as stalwart as a Sioux. His weatherbeaten features were stern and impassive. His keen grey-blue eyes swept the crowd with a haughty glance. One chronicler, who witnessed the scene, states that his manner strongly suggested "Brown of Ossawatimie." He made no effort to speak, for the shouts increased as the assembly got a full view. He was a veritable backwoodsman and a "sight" indeed. Chairman Wright hammered the table lustily to secure order but in vain. Not knowing the stranger's name and catching the eye of Mr. Charles Aldrich, seated near the edge of the platform, Mr. Wright stepped over to him and asked who "the old chap" was. "Why," came the reply, "that is Father John Johns of Webster county, and if you'll get this infernal mob still enough to hear him, he'll give them a good speech!"

The self-possession, perfect poise and dignity of the stranger, soon brought the delegates back to a proper sense of decorum, and Chairman Wright introduced him. He was a hunter and trapper and withal an itinerant Baptist preacher

of the "Free Will" persuasion, who lived on Skillet creek, near Border Plains, in south central Webster county. He was a Kentuckian by birth and upbringing and an Abolitionist of the militant type—a fact that made his emigration from his native heath expedient, if not imperative. The character and substance of his speech can be but partially indicated. He certainly fulfilled Mr. Aldrich's prediction, as all accounts refer to his effort with decided approval.

He mastered his audience at once. In manner he was serious, almost solemn in delivery. His language was concise, unadorned, pointed. Barbed and nipping words seem to have frequently expressed his thoughts with telling effect. The righteousness of the Republican cause and the party's great opportunity, the iniquities of Slavery and the aggressions of the Slavocrats in Kansas, in the courts and at Washington, the blunders and corruption of "Buck-Hannan's" administration, were the main considerations of his speech. Many of his sharp thrusts elicited rounds of applause.

The impression made by the speaker was somewhat complex and contradictory. Mr. G. H. Jerome, editor of *The Iowa City Republican*, informs his readers that his speech contained some of "the wittiest and quaintest remarks that it has ever been my fortune to hear in any convention. He repeatedly brought down the house."¹ On the other hand Mr. John Mahin writes his readers that the stranger "seemed himself,

¹*The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25, 1860. Correspondence dated Des Moines, Jan. 18.

The account of John Johns and his speech is based upon correspondence and interviews of the writer with Hon. Levi S. Coffin of Fort Dodge, Judge C. C. Nourse, and W. S. Moore of Des Moines, Charles Aldrich, late Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, and Professor D. R. Dungan of Drake University, a nephew of John Johns; also upon the recollections of Charles Aldrich, published in July, 1892, entitled "Recollections of Rev. John Johns of Webster County," *Iowa Historical Record*, VIII, 321-325; and W. S. Moore's "A Notable Convention," *Iowa State Register*, September 4, 1892, p. 10.

The reader may study the features of John Johns in a reproduction of an old "tin type," taken two or three years after the convention, in a group of "Some of Iowa's Delegates-at-Large" to the Chicago Convention, opposite page 186 of Volume VIII of *The Annals*.

however, to be too earnest and solemn in his opposition to slavery to treat things jocularly, and scarcely indulged in a smile while on the stage.¹

The speech of John Johns was the one dramatic episode of the convention. The subsequent action of the delegates indicates conclusively its striking effect. In the various reports of the proceedings of the convention in the press of the State his speech was the one thing especially mentioned.²

Between four and five o'clock the committee on credentials reported. According to the only published list of the counties represented, there were 406 delegates or their proxies present, representing 78 out of the 99 counties of the State. Had all of the counties sent their quota of delegates there would have been 466 present. In view of the modes and conditions of travel and the time of the year the representation was very large. Iowa City was the western terminus of the only railroad of consequence in the State. Steamboats theoretically and occasionally navigated the Des Moines river but transit thereon, especially in the tortuous courses of the upper fifty miles, was exceedingly uncertain. Stage coaches were the main public carriers and the condition of roads in country and town in Iowa in the middle of January in 1860 may easily be imagined. The public interest and personal zeal of partisans that brought so many delegates together at such a time under such conditions must have been very pronounced.

The counties not represented were Adair, Adams, Buena Vista, Calhoun, Cerro Gordo, Cherokee, Clay, Dickinson, Emmet, Harrison, Hancock, Ida, Jones, Montgomery, Monona, Palo Alto, Pocahontas, Sac, Shelby, Union and Winnebago. For the most part the counties were near the borders of the State. Their quota of delegates, however, amounted all told to only 34. Twenty-two of the counties represented failed to send their entire quota, the number thus deficient being 36.

¹*The Daily Muscatine Journal*, Jan. 23, 1860.

²*The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 23; *The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25; *The Muscatine Journal*, Jan. 23; *The Pella Gazette*, Jan. 25; *The Oskaloosa Herald* quoted in the *Hamilton Freeman*, Feb. 4, 1860.

(b) *The Character of the County Delegations.*

The delegates reported present represented the party and the State excellently both as regards the commonalty and the yeomanry as well as the leaders. Some of the State's best character and largest caliber were found among them—men who had been foremost in public affairs or who then were pressing rapidly to the front and were later to have distinguished careers in the State and the nation. It is so common in popular prints and among academic writers and those who class themselves with the elite, literary and social, to refer contemptuously to ordinary party conclaves, that brief mention of the careers of some of the delegates assembled in Sherman's Hall that afternoon may be worth while. A few delegates reported as present appear not to have attended. It is probable that they were selected by local caucuses or county conventions and were so reported to the committee on credentials, but even if not present their selection indicates the wishes of the local constituency.

A poll of the delegates with respect to their nativity and ages, their states of residence prior to coming to Iowa and years of their residence in the State previous to the convention, their education, general and technical, their occupations and professions, their religious creeds and church preferences, their party affiliations prior to joining the Republican party, their public honors and services before and after the convention, would be both interesting and instructive, but the writer does not possess complete data.

Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson county is credited with being one of the secretaries of the Pittsburg convention, February 22, 1856, which has substantial claims as the first Republican national convention. Mr. Andrew J. Stevens of Polk county was selected by that convention as the member of the national committee for Iowa and joined in the call of March 29, addressed "To the People of the United States" urging all "without regard to past political differences or divisions" to send delegates to a convention in Philadelphia

June 17, 1856. Mr. Stevens was the first chairman of the Republican state central committee in Iowa.

Nineteen counties sent 31 delegates who had attended as delegates at Iowa City, February 22, 1856, when the Republican party was organized in Iowa. They were John Shane and J. C. Traer of Benton county, J. A. Chapline, R. I. Thomas and W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque, Wells Spicer and Ed Wright of Cedar, J. W. Sherman of Dallas, Fitz Henry Warren of Des Moines, Jackson Orr of Greene, J. F. Brown of Hardin, S. McFarland of Henry, J. W. Jenkins of Jackson, R. Gaines and J. F. Wilson of Jefferson, E. and R. Clark of Johnson, G. D. Woodin of Keokuk, H. Taylor of Lee, H. C. Angle of Linn, Wm. M. Stone of Marion, Jacob Butler, S. Foster, John Mahin and Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek, B. F. Gue, J. C. Quinn and A. Sanders of Scott, and J. W. Caldwell and J. W. Norris of Wapello. Mr. J. B. Grinnell is credited with the authorship of the "Address" of the convention to the people of Iowa.¹

Six of the delegates had been chosen by the first state convention in 1856 as delegates or alternates to represent the party at the first national Republican convention at Philadelphia, in June of that year: Messrs. F. H. Warren of Des Moines county and J. W. Caldwell of Wapello as delegates and Messrs. Jacob Butler, Thomas Drummond, J. W. Jenkins and Daniel Anderson, alternates. Three of those named could not attend and Messrs. J. W. Sherman of Dallas county, R. L. B. Clarke of Henry, and A. J. Stevens of Polk exercised their proxies at Philadelphia.

Mr. G. M. Swan of Warren county is credited with the authorship of the call that caused the first meeting in Columbus, Ohio, whence resulted the organization of the Republican party in Ohio,² and Mr. Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque was the secretary of that state convention when it was organized.³

Six of the delegates had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1857 that had framed the supreme law of

¹List of Delegates compiled by Mr. Louis Pelzer in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, IV, 521-525.

²*History of Warren County* (1879) p. 502.

³*John Sherman's Recollections*, p. 76.

Iowa under which the people have since continued to live. Messrs. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson county, R. L. B. Clarke of Henry, John Edwards of Lucas, J. C. Traer of Tama, Wm. A. Warren of Jackson, and James F. Wilson of Jefferson. Two other delegates, Alvin Saunders of Henry and S. Goodrell of Polk county (then of Muscatine county) had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1846, which framed the first constitution for the State; and Judge Ralph P. Lowe had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1844, that first undertook to construct a constitution for the people.

Fifty-six delegates had been, and of the number 47 then were and 32 later became members of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Iowa. Thirty-six had been and 22 then were members of the state Senate and 26 thereafter became members of that body. Two delegates, Samuel McFarland of Henry county had been and John Edwards of Lucas then was the speaker of the House of Representatives; and two others, Rush Clark of Johnson and Jacob Butler of Muscatine county were later to become speaker. Messrs. W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque county and Oran Faville had been presidents of the Senate and Nicholas J. Rusch of Scott county then was; and Enoch W. Eastman of Hardin, B. F. Gue of Scott and Frank T. Campbell of Jasper county were thereafter to be elected lieutenant governor of the State, and thereby became presidents of the Senate. Three had had experience in the legislatures of older eastern states; Messrs. Jesse Bowen of Johnson and John Edwards of Lucas in Indiana, and Samuel Merrill of Clayton in the legislature of New Hampshire.

There were a number who had held, were then holding or were destined to hold prominent positions in the state government. Dr. Jesse Bowen of Johnson county was adjutant general of the militia. Mr. M. L. Morris, also of Johnson county, had been, and Mr. George W. Bemis of Buchanan was to become treasurer of state. Messrs. Andrew J. Stevens of Polk, John Pattee of Bremer had held, and Jonathan W. Cattell of Cedar was holding the office of auditor of state. W. A. Warren of Jackson was the candidate of the Whig party in



SHERMAN'S HALL,
Third Street and Court Avenue.

Meeting place of Republican State Convention, Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1860.
(Photographed October, 1910.)

1848 for that office. Thomas H. Benton, Jr., of Pottawattamie had been superintendent of public instruction and Mr. Oran Faville afterwards held the office. Mr. Ed Wright, the temporary chairman was later to serve the people as secretary of state and Messrs. George A. Hawley of Decatur, J. W. Jenkins of Jackson, M. L. McPherson of Madison, J. W. Thompson of Scott had been or were later prominent but unsuccessful candidates for the office.

Ralph P. Lowe of Lee had been Governor of Iowa, retiring from that office the week preceding the convention; and Messrs. Samuel Merrill of Clayton, Wm. Larrabee of Fayette and Wm. M. Stone of Marion county, later became Chief Executive of the State. Messrs. J. B. Grinnell, Henry O'Connor, J. B. Weaver and Fitz Henry Warren became prominent candidates for the office.

A number had been, or later became, judges of the district or circuit courts. Thus John H. Gray of Polk county, Ralph P. Lowe of Lee, Samuel Murdock of Clayton, John W. Rankin of Lee, Wm. Smyth of Linn and W. M. Stone of Marion were judges prior to the convention. Messrs. M. B. Burdick of Wineshiek county, D. D. Chase of Hamilton, H. C. Henderson of Marshall, Wm. Loughridge of Mahaska, C. C. Nourse of Polk, Geo. W. Ruddick of Bremer, and John Shane of Benton afterwards became judges.

There were present eight who had been or then were "County Kings," to-wit, the county judges who under the Code of 1851 exercised all the legislative, executive and judicial functions previously exercised by the county commissioners: G. M. Dean of Allamakee, F. B. Doolittle of Delaware, Oran Faville of Mitchell, P. P. Henderson of Warren, Lewis H. Smith of Kossuth, Wells Spicer of Cedar, Wm. Van O'Linda of Plymouth, and J. C. Hagans of Ringgold county.

As the work of the convention was not directly or immediately connected with "local issues" superficially considered, the presence of judges, even of the court of highest resort in the State, was not deemed inappropriate, and among the delegates we find the names of every member of the Supreme Court as then constituted, namely: Caleb Baldwin of Potta-

wattamie county, Ralph P. Lowe of Lee, and L. D. Stockton of Des Moines. George G. Wright of Van Buren had but a few days before left the court and was later to be its Chief Justice. Sundry important officials of that court were also in the convention. Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson was reporter of the supreme court from 1855 to 1860. The first attorney general of the state, Mr. D. C. Cloud, of Muscatine county, had been selected by the party convention at Muscatine, but his attendance at Des Moines is not recorded. Two of the delegates in Sherman's Hall afterwards became attorney general, Messrs. John F. McJunkin of Washington and Henry O'Connor of Muscatine.

Two members of the commission to revise the code of the State that submitted its report to the General Assembly in 1860, Messrs. Charles Ben Darwin of Des Moines county, who had been active in securing Abraham Lincoln's consent to speak in Burlington in 1858, and Wm. Smyth of Linn county, were among the delegates.

There were nine state officers in the convention as delegates; three district judges and three district attorneys; two county judges, three clerks of county courts, and one county treasurer—twenty-one all told. This number was not very large considering the fact that there were at the time about five hundred and fifty state and county officers, two-thirds of whom were probably Republicans.

If we include the members of the state central committee as servants of the convention, sixteen delegates had represented or afterwards represented the people of Iowa or other states in the national House of Representatives at Washington, many of them achieving noteworthy distinction in the deliberations and decisions of that body. They were Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque county, T. M. Bowen of Page, Rush Clark of Johnson, W. G. Donnan of Buchanan, John Edwards of Lucas, J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek, W. P. Hepburn of Marshall, A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury, John A. Kasson of Polk, Wm. Loughridge of Mahaska, Jackson Orr of Greene, Charles Pomeroy of Boone, Wm. Smyth of Linn, James Thorington of Scott, James B. Weaver of Davis and James F. Wilson of Jefferson.

Five of the delegates subsequently entered the Senate of the United States. Judge George G. Wright served from 1871 to 1876 when he refused re-election. Mr. T. M. Bowen, after a noteworthy career in Kansas and Arkansas, went to Colorado whence he was elected to the Senate in 1883 serving until 1889. The other three delegates who reached the Senate were Messrs. Alvin Saunders of Henry, James F. Wilson of Jefferson and W. B. Allison of Dubuque county, of whose careers more will be said. In 1854 Mr. Fitz Henry Warren was the leading candidate of the Whigs for the Senate, but Mr. James Harlan was finally elected. In 1858 Wm. Penn Clarke and Wm. Smyth were prominently mentioned and received votes in the party caucus when Mr. Grimes was selected.

In the executive departments of the national government some of the delegates had had, or later achieved, position and influence. Mr. Fitz Henry Warren had been assistant postmaster general under President Taylor and subsequently was secretary of the national committee of the anti-slavery Whigs in the presidential campaign of 1852. W. H. F. Gurley of Scott county, became President Lincoln's first district attorney in Iowa; ill health and death soon cut off a career of brilliant promise. The careers of Messrs. Henry O'Connor and H. C. Caldwell will require mention subsequently.

Three of the delegates accredited to the convention in Sherman's Hall that afternoon attained to such nation-wide influence that at various times they were urged by admirers in national political parties for presidential honors. Mr. J. B. Weaver of Davis county was twice nominated for the presidency; first, by the National Greenback party in 1880, receiving 350,000 votes, and, again, in 1892 by the People's party, obtaining 1,042,531 votes at the polls and 22 votes, representing five states, in the Electoral College. The mention of Messrs. H. C. Caldwell of Van Buren county and Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque county in this connection will be referred to later.

Within a year and a half after the convention met war drums were calling men to arms in defense of the Union, the existence of which was attacked because of the action they, or

their delegates for them, were to take at Chicago in deciding the national leadership. Nearly one-fifth of the delegates enlisted in the volunteer regiments.

Fifteen delegates became Captains: F. T. Campbell of Jasper county, M. Clark of Jefferson, C. F. Conn of Lee, G. M. Dean of Allamakee, F. M. Kelsey of Jackson, J. P. McEwen of Guthrie, P. G. C. Merrill, of Warren, J. C. Mitchell of Wapello, L. C. Noble of Fayette, Jackson Orr of Greene, J. H. Powers of Chickasaw, P. A. Queal of Story, R. M. Rippey of Greene, J. H. Shutts of Benton and W. P. Ward of Jackson.

Messrs. L. Dewey of Henry, W. G. Donnan of Fayette, W. C. Drake of Wayne, Charles Foster of Scott, H. B. Lynch of Iowa, Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, N. J. Rusch of Scott, John Safely of Linn and Calvin Taylor of Davis became Majors. Messrs. Charles Aldrich of Hamilton and L. C. Noble of Fayette were tendered the rank of Major but for business reasons declined the advance in official rank.

Doctors Wm. McK. Findley of Davis, D. C. Hastings of Buchanan and Amos Witter of Linn county became regimental surgeons.

Eight of the delegates became Lieutenant Colonels—J. W. Caldwell of Wapello, Geo. B. Corkhill of Henry, Thomas Drummond of Benton, J. Ferguson of Marion, W. P. Hepburn of Marshall, Geo. W. Howard of Chickasaw, J. W. Jenkins of Jackson, Samuel McFarland of Henry, and S. C. Van Anda of Delaware county.

Among Iowa's Colonels we find Daniel Anderson of Monroe, A. H. Bereman of Henry, H. C. Caldwell of Van Buren, P. P. Henderson of Warren, Samuel Merrill of Clayton, John Pattee of Bremer, J. W. Rankin of Lee, John Shane of Benton, and Wm. Smyth of Linn. Messrs. R. H. Ballinger of Boone and Henry Ramming of Scott, entered the army in Illinois and became Colonels. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson as Paymaster had the rank of Colonel and M. L. McPherson attained the rank by brevet at the close of the war.

For distinguished service, bravery and meritorious conduct, Messrs. T. M. Bowen of Page, Thos. H. Benton, Jr., of Pottawattamie, D. B. Hillis of Davis, Hiram Scofield of Washing-

ton, Franklin A. Stratton of Webster, W. M. Stone of Marion, J. B. Weaver of Davis, and Ed Wright of Cedar county appear on the muster rolls at the close of the army as Brevet Brigadier Generals. Mr. John Edwards of Lucas attained full rank as Brigadier General of volunteers and Mr. Fitz Henry Warren of Des Moines county closed his army service in defense of the Union with the rank of Brevet Major General.

Among the delegates was a group that added special spice and flavor—a group that had been foremost in furthering the extreme anti-slavery views. They were all especially active in connection with Kansas, John Brown and Underground Railways. When the settlement of Kansas was the object of so much contention between the Slavocrats and the “Free state men” in 1856, Wm. Penn Clarke was the member for Iowa of the notable National Kansas Committee. He forwarded many “Liberty men” and Sharpe’s rifles to Tabor. When matters approached their crisis in 1856 a mass meeting was held in Iowa City to aid the emigration of anti-slavery men to Kansas, and a committee was appointed on which were Messrs. Clarke, M. L. Morris and I. N. [G. H. ?] Jerome. One result of the meeting was that Mr. Geo. D. Woodin, then of Johnson, but later of Keokuk county, traveled throughout southern Iowa organizing local committees. Among the local committee-men were Judge Wm. M. Stone of Knoxville, Mr. A. J. Stevens of Des Moines, and Dr. B. S. Noble of Indianola.¹ It was Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Henry county who led the fight in the Constitutional Convention of 1857 to strike “white” from the constitution and entitle Negroes to enjoy all political privileges, and it was Mr. Henry O’Connor of Muscatine who championed the unpopular measure on the hustings. When John Brown passed through the State the last time, in 1858 with the slaves which he had forcefully assisted in escaping from their masters in Missouri, Rev. Demas Robinson, near Des Moines, Mr. J. B. Grinnell, at Grinnell, and Dr. Jesse Bowen and Mr. W. P. Clarke at Iowa City gave him “aid and

¹*History of Keokuk County* (1880) p. 432-3.

comfort'' at risk of the public peace, and their personal safety.¹ When Virginia's sheriff, on Gov. Letcher's requisition, sought Barclay Coppoe, the youth of Springdale who was one of Brown's aids at Harper's Ferry, it was Messrs. Ed Wright of Cedar and B. F. Gue of Scott who gave the alarm at the capitol and Messrs. J. B. Grinnell, J. W. Cattell, auditor of state, Amos Hoag of Winneshiek and David Hunt of Hardin county, who co-operated in sending the post rider to warn the fugitive at the Quaker village in Cedar county.² Among other staunch promoters of the rights of Negroes and supporters of John Brown in the convention were Mr. Coker F. Clarkson of Grundy and Mr. Jacob Butler of Muscatine. It was Mr. Butler who presided at the Congregational Council in Chicago in 1859, when some stout anti-slavery resolutions were adopted. All the foregoing took part in the proceedings in Sherman's Hall.

A number of the delegates had then engaged or later engaged in literary effort of the formal sort to an extent that would entitle them to enrollment among the "literary folk" of the State. Excluding the judges of the supreme court who are book-makers *ex officio*, and editors of weekly or daily newspapers, there were seventeen who have to their credit published writings dealing with matters of historical or technical interest, appearing in the form of articles or brochures, biographies, memoirs, official reports and treatises. Of the legal work of Charles Ben Darwin, especially his report recommending a new code of civil and criminal procedure, a recent commentator says: "He exerted more influence, probably, than any one man of his age and experience upon the practice of the State of Iowa."³ Mr. D. C. Cloud, Iowa's first attorney general, originally designated as one of the delegates from Muscatine county, wrote two stout treatises on the *War Powers of the President* and *Monopolies and the People*. Messrs. C. F. Clarkson, Suel Foster and J. H. Sanders became extensive writers upon farming, horticulture and stockbreeding. Wm. Penn Clarke, and Hawkins Taylor later made sub-

¹*Annals of Iowa* (1st Series) Vol. IV, 667-669, 715-719.

²Gue, *History of Iowa*, II, 17.

³Cole & Elbersole, *The Courts and Legal Profession of Iowa*, 1, 87.

stantial contributions to the historical literature of the State. Articles from the pen of James F. Wilson appeared in our national magazines. The letters of Fitz Henry Warren to *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* and later to the *N. Y. Daily Tribune* have become historic. It was his celebrated criticisms of the course of the national government in the early days of the Civil War under the caption, "On to Richmond," that precipitated the disaster at Bull Run. In 1855 Mr. H. P. Scholte put forth an interesting brochure on *American Slavery*, containing an acute discussion of that moot question. Mr. J. B. Grinnell has given us a considerable volume of recollections, entitled *Men and Events of Forty Years*. Mr. J. H. Powers wrote *Historical Reminiscences of Chickasaw County*. Mr. Wm. Larrabee is the author of *The Railroad Question*, an energetic discussion of a vexed question. Mr. B. F. Gue, besides extensive contributions to local biography and history, wrote four substantial volumes entitled *The History of Iowa*. L. D. Ingersoll, celebrated in Iowa during the "sixties" as a war correspondent under the *nom de plume* of "Linkensale," wrote three considerable volumes, *Iowa and the Rebellion*, *The Life and Times of Horace Grœcley* and *The History of the War Department*. Besides sundry minor contributions of worth, Mr. John A. Kasson wrote a scholarly treatise on *The Evolution of the Constitution of the United States and History of the Monroe Doctrine* which has become one of the standard references on these subjects in all our public and university libraries. Mr. Charles Aldrich, an editorial writer of great force and vivacity, in addition to the authorship of numerous articles re-established and for sixteen years edited *The Annals of Iowa*. His *magnum opus* in the conclusion of his career was the creation of the Historical Department of Iowa and bringing into being the handsome, stately structure on capitol hill which now houses his precious Collections and the increasing historical lore of the State of Iowa.

It is possible, of course, that the Republicans of Iowa have had state conventions whereat a higher average of ability and achievement and a greater number of notables have been in

attendance than was true of the conclave of the party's chiefs and workers at Sherman's Hall on January 18, 1860, but the writer doubts if the fact can be demonstrated.

(c) *Selecting the Delegates to the National Convention.*

For the committee on permanent organization, Mr. Charles Foster of Scott county, reported in favor of the nomination of the following delegates for the offices mentioned. Their recommendations were concurred in. Mr. W. W. Hamilton, of Dubuque, who had won distinction as presiding officer of the state Senate in 1856 and 1858, was made chairman. Pursuant to an amiable custom doubtless not free from artful design, ten delegates were designated as "Vice-Presidents"; among the number being Benedict Hugel of Lee county, Judge A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury, Mr. J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek, Jackson Orr of Greene, Mr. Jacob Butler of Muscatine, Mr. Francis Mangold of Dubuque, Mr. Amos Hoag of Winneshek and Mr. Charles Pomeroy of Boone. D. D. Chase of Hamilton, J. G. Davenport of Linn, J. K. Graves of Dubuque, T. R. Oldham of Clarke, Henry Lischer of Scott, and H. P. Scholte of Marion, were made secretaries. In the selection of Messrs. Hugel, Mangold, Lischer and Scholte, one may discern delicate, and as diplomats phrase it, "distinguished consideration," of the foreign vote in the eastern counties. In the exaltation of so many notables of Dubuque one suspects shrewd tactics anent the senatorial election then pending.

The delegates proceeded at once with the business of the convention. On motion of Mr. Hawley of Decatur county, it was provided that the entire vote of a county could be cast by the delegates or delegate present. Senator Drummond of Benton county then introduced a resolution directing that the convention proceed to elect "eight delegates to the national Republican convention, four from the State at large, and two from each congressional district—but one delegate to be elected at a time and by a *viva voce* vote, on a call of the counties, a majority being required to elect." Mr. Brown of Black Hawk moved to amend by striking out eight and in-

serting two from "each judicial district" of which there were eleven in the State, the delegates to be "named by each district." As a substitute Mr. Gue of Scott county moved the adoption of the following:

Resolved, That the convention now proceed to elect two delegates from each judicial district, to be selected by the delegates from each district, and five delegates at large, to be elected by a *viva voce* vote upon call of the counties, one delegate to be elected at a time.

We are told that upon the introduction of Senator Drummond's motion "an animated discussion ensued," lasting for two hours. The enthusiasm of the disputants and the delegates at times "kindled into a blaze." The correspondent of *The Hawk-Eye* tells us that "it was dark when these preliminary matters were settled and the entire afternoon was consumed in boisterous though good-humoured debate in which neither the chairman nor any member could define what the question before the convention was."¹ Mr. Gue's motion was finally modified by an amendment of Senator Drummond's providing for selection of the delegates by a plurality vote.

The convention first took an informal ballot on delegates at large with the following result:

L. C. Noble, 43; T. J. W. Tabor, 20; W. Penn Clarke, 52; J. A. Kasson, 28; Henry O'Connor, 36; N. J. Rusch, 12; J. W. Norris, 31; J. F. Wilson, 22; A. Sa[u]nders, 33; M. L. McPherson, 16; S. Bagg, 5; Thomas Seeley, 10; J. B. Grinnell, 11; Scattering, 18.

The convention thereupon proceeded to a formal ballot. The distribution of the votes among the sundry favorites named on the several ballots is not less interesting than in the informal ballot, and a transcript of the proceedings as published follows:

1.—J. W. Norris 4, Thomas Seeley 4, W. Penn Clarke 110, T. J. W. Tabor 52, J. A. Kasson 5, A. Saunders 33, Henry O'Connor 15, L. C. Noble 2, M. L. McPherson 4, J. F. Wilson 31.

On motion W. Penn Clark of Johnson county was unanimously elected a delegate at large.

¹*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 23, 1860.

2d formal ballot—L. C. Noble 134, J. W. Norris 27, H. O'Connor 37, J. A. Kasson 39, M. L. McPherson 21, J. F. Wilson 51, A. Saunders 22.

On motion, L. C. Noble of Fayette county, was unanimously elected the second delegate at large.

3rd formal ballot—J. A. Kasson 161, J. W. Rankin 16, H. O'Connor 145, J. W. Norris 4, T. Seeley 4.

On motion, J. A. Kasson of Polk county, was unanimously elected the third delegate at large.

4th ballot—H. O'Connor 161, J. W. Rankin 55, J. F. Wilson 116, M. L. McPherson 6.

On motion, H. O'Connor of Muscatine county, was unanimously elected the 4th delegate at large.

6th [5th?] ballot—C. F. Clarkson 23, J. F. Wilson 148, J. W. Rankin 110, E. Bloomer 17, N. J. Rusch 9.

On motion, J. F. Wilson of Jefferson county, was unanimously elected as the fifth delegate at large.

The selections apparently did not suffice or they perhaps produced some discontent on the part of the friends of several receiving votes but unsuccessful, for immediately, on motion of Dr. Bowen of Johnson county, the following persons were unanimously elected as additional delegates at large:—Judge J. W. Rankin of Lee county, Senator M. L. McPherson of Madison, Mr. C. F. Clarkson of Grundy, and Lt.-Governor N. J. Rusch of Scott, making nine altogether.

The roll of the judicial districts was then called for nominations for delegates to represent the local constituencies. The nominees apparently were all unanimously elected without delay or dispute. It is not indicated whether they had been selected by district caucuses held prior to the assembly of the delegates in Sherman's Hall or by conferences on the floor during the convention. The following are the names of the gentlemen elected in the order of the roll:

The first district selected Mr. Alvin Saunders of Henry and Dr. J. C. Walker of Lee county. For the second, H. Clay Caldwell of Van Buren and Mr. M. Baker of Wapello [Wayne?] county were designated. The third district chose Mr. Benjamin Rector of Fremont and Mr. George A. Hawley of Decatur county. The fourth district nominated Judge A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury and Mr. J. E. Blackford of Kos-

suth county. The fifth selected Messrs. Thomas Seeley of Guthrie and C. C. Nourse of Polk county. For the sixth, Judge W. M. Stone of Marion and Mr. J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek were nominated. The seventh district nominated Mr. Wm. A. Warren of Jackson and Mr. John W. Thompson of Scott. The nominees of the eighth district were Mr. John Shane of Benton and Judge Wm. Smyth of Linn county; and of the ninth, Messrs. Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque and A. F. Brown of Black Hawk county. The tenth district nominated Judge Reuben Noble of Clayton county and Mr. E. G. Bowdoin of Floyd county. The eleventh district presented the names of Mr. Wm. P. Hepburn of Marshall county and Mr. J. F. Brown of Hardin county.

All of the delegates chosen at Des Moines attended the national convention at Chicago save three—Messrs. J. E. Blackford, H. C. Caldwell and A. W. Hubbard. Their proxies were exercised by Messrs. Jacob Butler, J. W. Caldwell and Herbert M. Hoxie. Mr. R. L. B. Clarke was with the delegates in the Wigwam and took part in their conferences and decisions as an alternate.¹ In what follows the proxies and their principals will not be distinguished. As the years have increased, the distinction of the convention at Chicago has increased and likewise the claims to membership in Iowa's delegation. The writer has come upon the names of four others for whom biographers or eulogists have claimed membership therein; but so far as he can discover without warrant. We may suspect that attendance at the convention as unofficial representatives has been transmuted into official representation.

As soon as the delegates to Chicago were decided upon, Senator Thomas Drummond introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the delegation from Iowa are hereby instructed to cast the vote of the State as a unit, and that a majority of the delegates determine the action of the delegation.

The motion was lost. Whether or not there was any debate thereon and by what number of votes the resolution was de-

¹Interview with Judge C. C. Nourse and letter of R. L. B. Clarke to the writer (Mss.).

feated are not recorded. The significance of the resolution, the design of the mover, and the real purport of the action of the convention in refusing thus to control the course of their delegates at the national convention, can only be surmised. The mover was an able and tried tactician in practical politics. He had attended the first national convention of the Republican party at Philadelphia in 1856 as a delegate and he was an influential editor and leader in the party's councils in the State. It is hardly probable that his resolution was unpremeditated, introduced on the spur of the moment on a vagrant impulse. He knew that in national party conventions, as in state or local conventions, a delegation or its leaders are potent when they have their delegates well in hand and can "count on them" and can swing them to the right or to the left at critical junctures in manoeuvres. Divided delegations, like dissevered army corps, are usually impotent. Judge McLean's nomination at Philadelphia in 1856 might have been accomplished with ease had Ohio's delegation been a unit on his behalf instead of split asunder by bitter, obstinate factional differences and preferences. Senator Drummond probably had the avoidance of such inefficiency in mind. Moreover, it is not unlikely that he expected the resolution, if adopted, to operate in favor of the candidacy of Senator Seward. Senator Drummond, as we have seen, entertained radical anti-slavery views, sympathizing frankly with John Brown. He was also a staunch friend and supporter of Senator Harlan, who was a known friend and admirer of the Senator from New York, and then or very soon thereafter becoming an advocate of his nomination at Chicago. The activity of Gov. Seward's friends in all of the northern states, straight west of New York, on behalf of his candidacy and their success in securing instructions for him in all, save Iowa, gives color to the surmise here ventured. It is the recollection of Judge C. C. Nourse that it was the opinion in the lobbies that Gov. Seward was to be the beneficiary of the resolution.¹

¹Letter of Judge C. C. Nourse to the writer (Mss.)

An account of the proceedings in *Der Demokrat*, the German Republican paper of Davenport, gives grounds for thinking that possibly specific instructions for Senator Seward were formally presented and formally rejected. In a brief notice of the convention we find the statement that "ein antrag die delegaten zu instruiren wurde verworfen." This assertion that instructions were defeated is followed by another indicating the self-control of the delegates: "Die stimmung der convention war sehr stark zu gunsten von Wm. H. Seward fur President." Two facts make one skeptical as to the former statement. First, it is the only one to the same effect the writer has discovered in the press reports or in the editorial comments on the proceedings; and we should normally expect a matter of such vital significance in the political contest then approaching its culmination to be generally referred to in contemporary comment. Second, the context suggests some confusion. Just preceding the first sentence quoted is the statement that the convention adopted Senator Drummond's resolution providing for a "plurality" rule in voting. Apparently Senator Drummond's resolution to bind the national delegates by the unit rule was confused with another motion by him amending Mr. Gue's, whereby the convention should elect the delegates to the national convention by a plurality instead of by a majority of the votes cast. On the other hand, the publisher of *Der Demokrat*, Mr. Henry Lischer, and one of its leading writers, Mr. Henry Ramming, were both delegates from Scott county to the convention. One or the other, doubtless penned the account from which the statement above is quoted and we may presume that he wrote advisedly. Whatever may have been the facts we shall see that the rejection of Senator Drummond's resolution providing for the unit rule was subsequently considered as equivalent to refusal to instruct for Senator Seward.¹

The defeat of Senator Drummond's resolution was followed by a motion to adjourn until eight o'clock. As the primary purpose of the convention had been accomplished one feels

¹*Der Demokrat*, Jan. 21, 1860.

curiosity as to the object of reassembling the delegates. The delegates were in the city and other social diversion for such a number may not have been feasible and sociability and speech-making may have been the only matters contemplated. Nevertheless, those familiar with popular assemblages are likely to suspect shrewd designs. Mass meetings, unless controlled by dominant leaders, are the prey of fitful, contradictory and erratic currents. Emotionalism is wont to prevail; sentimentalism rather than sense. Unforeseen events, oftentimes artfully produced, may result in gusts, flurries and sometimes violent outbursts of feeling that drive the delegates pell-mell in some direction. Skillful tacticians at such times easily accomplish purposes otherwise impossible. The convention had made no declaration of principles. It had refused to bind its national delegates by instructions. Public discussion was rife with issues that aroused intense animosity. Partisans of sundry views, ardent advocates of specific courses, energetic friends of candidates, disappointed in obtaining action favorable to their hopes may have had some expectation of success in furthering their cause or candidate "after supper."

Whatever the considerations or designs, the delegates on reassembling transacted but little business; but that little was interesting and significant. Two more delegates at large were added to the nine selected at the afternoon session. They were the Rev. Henry P. Scholte, editor of *The Pella Gazette* and founder of the Holland community at Pella, and Rev. John Johns, the pioneer preacher from Webster county whose speech had so stirred the convention a few hours before. The selection of the former signified again recognition of the strategic importance of the foreign vote in the coming campaign, and the choice of the latter may have indicated an appreciation of the votes in the congregations of the Baptist church or a spontaneous proof of the power of the oratory of the itinerant preacher.

The convention then converted itself into a "mass ratification meeting." Speeches were delivered by Messrs. Henry O'Connor and Jacob Butler of Muscatine, Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson, Enoch W. Eastman of Hardin, C. C. Nourse and

John A. Kasson of Polk, Geo. May of Marion, James F. Wilson of Jefferson, and Rev. John Johns. "The speeches," Mr. Jerome of Iowa City reported, "were very spicy, full of marrow and the meeting was enthusiastic to a high degree."¹ In the course of his speech at the evening session Mr. Johns, while indicating very clearly his strong personal preference for the nomination of Wm. H. Seward for the presidency by the Republicans at Chicago, is credited with the observation that, in case the Democrats in their national convention at Charleston should nominate Stephen A. Douglas, the Republicans could not do better than to nominate Abraham Lincoln who in popular judgment had worsted the "Little Giant" in their celebrated debate in 1858.

Before one can justly estimate the conduct of the delegates or the significance of their action, the conditions under which the business was transacted must be appreciated. The comments of two eye witnesses, one a participant as a delegate, the other a representative of the opposite political party, are interesting. "R," correspondent of *The Gate City*, penned the following on the night of the convention:

Impartial justice requires the statement that it was the noisiest, most uproarious, confused, good-natured, hardworking and enthusiastic convention ever witnessed in Iowa or any other country on this mundane sphere. It was also, I believe, the largest Republican convention ever held in this State.²

The correspondent of *The Dubuque Herald* after referring with customary partizan irony to the claim of Republicans that their party comprehended "all the decency and intelligence," wrote (Jan. 23):

It was the most disorderly, uproarious and undignified gathering that has lately come to the knowledge of the peaceful denizens of this locality. Still they got through with the business for which they assembled in a manner most satisfactory to everybody but themselves.³

Evidently the delegates gave their feelings full vent and the right of way. Spontaneity of expression rather than docility

¹*The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25, 1860.

²*The Daily Gate City*, Jan. 23, 1860. Corr. dated at Des Moines, Jan. 17.

³*The Dubuque Herald*, Feb. 1, 1860. Corr. dated at Des Moines, Jan. 23.

and obedient concurrence in a program, constituted the definitive condition in the determination of the conclusions of the convention. Some considerations will demonstrate this.

(d) *Did a Machine and Wirepullers or Common Sense Control the Convention?*

A distinguished national historian, contrasting the character of the first Republican national convention at Philadelphia and that of the second convention at Chicago, designated the delegates to the first as "liberty-loving enthusiasts and largely volunteers," and those to the second, as mainly "wirepullers" and "machine politicians" chosen by "means of the organization peculiar to a powerful party" who were, he adds, "in political wisdom the pick of the Republicans."¹

One might ask for definitions of terms. Be the merits of the contrast what they may it is well to keep in mind that those unfamiliar with the practical procedure of politics are wont to regard philanthropists and reformers who initiate political and social movements as always animated by purely ethical considerations, as free from malice and thoughts of personal gain, and "politicians" as wirepullers whose ways are devious and dark, whose motives are petty, or sordid or malevolent, who interpret the public welfare in terms of personal profit or party advantage with the same objective in view. Any one who has had but little intimate acquaintance with philanthropists and politicians knows that very prosaic human considerations prompt and energize both species of mankind. The chicanery and hypocrisy of philanthropists are not less extensive nor less vicious than the sordidness of politicians. Moreover, experience is likely to make one conclude that the sentimentalism and stupidities of enthusiasts in politics and government are more to be dreaded than the designs of politicians pulling wires and the public purse strings for personal or party advantage.

The delegates selected by the Republicans of Iowa to represent their interests and wishes at the Chicago convention were,

¹Rhodes *History of the United States*, II, 457.

of course, "politicians." They were politicians in the old Greek sense of citizens. They were politicians in the sense of familiars or workers in the science and art of government. They were politicians in the sense of tacticians adept in the management and manoeuvres of party caucuses and campaigns. Many of them, doubtless all of them, sustained reputations in their bailiwicks for capacity and force, for caution and shrewdness, for patience and persistence in the pursuit and accomplishment of personal or party purposes. They are, nevertheless, individually and in the aggregate, thoroughly representative of the ability and achievement of the yeomanry and of the leadership of the Republican party then in control of the public affairs of the people of Iowa. Moreover the mode of their selection gives no basis for the assumption that the delegates were either "machine" politicians or the appointees of the managers of a "machine" in the disagreeable sense in which the term is used nowadays.

There was in the parlance of the day, a group of party leaders known throughout the State as the "capitol crowd," who no doubt worked to further their interests in the selection of the delegates; but if they had a program or "slate" it was completely smashed and their forces utterly routed. "The old wheel horses in the Republican team," a correspondent of *The Hawk-Eye* informs us, "opposed sending any more than one man to cast one vote . . ."¹ but the delegation selected exceeded four delegates for every vote of Iowa's quota. Senator Grimes in his letter to Governor Kirkwood said he would select "a goodly number to cast the vote of Iowa," but he probably did not think of more than sixteen delegates. The larger the number in a delegation the less the certainty of concert of action. Some of the leaders later indicated publicly their disapproval of the large number. Mr. Jacob Rich of the *Buchanan County Guardian* could "not see the object,"² and Mr. Teesdale ironically observed:—"If the hall [at Chicago] is large enough the delegates will all probably be admitted and exert their influence on the action

¹*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 23, 1860.

²*Buchanan County Guardian*, Jan. 26, 1860.

of the body.''' All of which means that the convention went counter to the wishes of the leaders or of any ring or machine that may have sought to control its action. It is not without significance that the conventions of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, two states whose political complexions were very dubious, likewise sent large delegations to Chicago, the former with seven votes sending 21 delegates and the latter with 27 votes sending 108 delegates.

The distribution of the votes of the convention in the informal and formal ballots for delegates at large affords interesting evidence of the absence of autocratic, domineering leadership so characteristic of a machine as the public now uses the term. On the informal ballot the votes were divided among more than thirteen candidates. The highest vote cast for any one man was only 52 for Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke. Two only of those voted for had attained the position that in these days would insure them the title of a party "boss." They were Mr. John A. Kasson, then chairman of the state central committee, and Mr. Alvin Saunders, who served Senator Harlan so efficiently as his field officer. But both fell below four other candidates in votes received in that informal ballot. The second man in that ballot, Mr. L. C. Noble, was a merchant of West Union, in Fayette county, and on the second formal ballot he was elected, winning over Messrs. Kasson, O'Connor, McPherson, Norris, Saunders and James F. Wilson, all potent leaders of state-wide fame. He was not conspicuous as a state leader. He was then a member of the lower House of the Legislature and for the first time. He was, according to the recollections of old associates, a likable and popular man in Fayette county and in the General Assembly. The votes on all of the ballots for delegates at large demonstrate conclusively that there were neither party bosses in charge of the convention nor dominating favorites among the leaders.

Another highly interesting fact in line with this conclusion was the absence of nearly all of the names of the party chiefs then honored with high official position, either at the state

¹*Daily Iowa State Register*, Jan. 20, 1860.

capitol at Des Moines or at the national capitol at Washington. Senator Grimes had urged Gov. Kirkwood to secure a place on the delegation; but his name was not presented at all. None of the men in what we may designate as the major state offices were voted for and neither Congressman Wm. Vandever nor S. R. Curtis, nor Senators James W. Grimes or James Harlan received votes. Their conspicuous positions doubtless operated to prevent the consideration of their names in the ballotings. As prudent politicians, they would realize that any effort on the part of themselves personally or of their promoters, to secure the honor of going to Chicago when so many were anxious to attend the national convention with official credentials, might irritate and mayhap alienate friends and supporters and have serious adverse results upon their careers afterwards. They or their influential friends unquestionably prevented the use of their names. Senator Harlan's candidacy for reelection to the national Senate was then in the balances and this fact would of itself make him and his friends backward in urging his name as a delegate.

Mr. Teesdale thought that it would be "regarded abroad, as somewhat singular that no member of our Senatorial or Congressional delegation has a place on the delegation."¹ Iowa's course in this, however, was typical of the course of the conventions of most of the states sending delegates to the Chicago convention. That convention was noteworthy for the absence of congressional leaders. New York and Rhode Island alone of the twenty-seven states represented, each sent one of their respective Senators, and Missouri and Pennsylvania each sent one Congressman and Ohio sent two.

Again the rejection of the resolution to bind the delegation by the unit rule and the absence or apparent absence of any motion to instruct the delegation, indicates clearly the democratic and popular character of the convention in Sherman's Hall. Anything suggestive of control of the delegation either as to numbers or as to free expression of the preferences of the delegates or their freedom of decision at Chicago, produced

¹*Ibid*

spirited debate and plump negatives and contrary action by the convention. The effect of the speech of John Johns suggests that spontaneous action rather than a program, controlled the delegates.

The refusal of the convention to bind its delegates by a unit rule and its non-action in the matter of instructions, possess significance in other respects. Describing the conduct of the convention in a letter to his paper, *The Iowa City Republican*, Mr. G. H. Jerome observed: "The mention of the name of W. H. Seward, the first man of the Republic, awoke the echoes of the hall. I think among all the candidates named, Seward is the decided favorite of the people of Iowa."¹ Whether the enthusiasm that made those echoes animated chiefly the non-official onlookers in Sherman's Hall or the delegates, is not indicated; but it is probable that sentiment in favor of Senator Seward prevailed decidedly over that for any other candidate. Under such circumstances the decision of his partisans not to press a resolution of instructions affords us substantial grounds for believing that conservative counsels predominated. In Oregon, Kansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan the friends and promoters of his candidacy pushed and secured specific instructions binding the delegations to vote for him. They sought them in Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts; and it was only by careful management and shrewd tactics, especially in Maine² and Massachusetts that Seward's opponents prevented similar resolutions in those states. His admirers and advocates at Des Moines appreciated that his popularity with the major portion of the rank and file of the Republicans was one thing, and his popularity with a belligerent minority and with the independent voters of the opposition was or might be an entirely different matter. When majorities are small and uncertain victories are won in the middle grounds. Iowa's Republicans at Sherman's Hall were controlled by clear-eyed and cool-headed party leaders, and not by reckless, erratic, tempestuous en-

¹*The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25, 1860.

²C. S. Hamlin's, *Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin*, pp. 331-351. Boutwell's *Reminiscences of Sixty Years of Public Life*, I, 253.

thusiasts. Mr. Jerome's own account of the proceedings illustrates this admirably; for in the sentence immediately following the one just quoted anent the popularity of Seward he says, "The delegation, however, goes uninstructed. This is as it should be." And in this policy or procedure the action of Iowa was precisely the action of Indiana and of all the New England states, save the one that had a candidate of its own to commend to the convention at Chicago.

(e) *The Delegation to the National Convention.*

However we may regard the delegates sent by the Republicans of Iowa to the convention at Chicago, whether as patriots or as politicians, an examination of their careers before and after the convention in Sherman's Hall will convince most persons that they represented their constituents excellently, their patriotism and their prejudices no less than their principles and policies.

The delegates were comparatively young men, their average age being 38 years. Their ages ranged from 27 to 60 years. Three were under 30 years. Ten were between 30 and 35; eleven between 35 and 40; eight between 40 and 50; and three between 50 and 60 years.

The nativity of the delegates approximated the nativity of the state's citizenship. Six were natives of New England states. Six were born in New York and two in Pennsylvania. Nine were born in states south of Mason and Dixon's line. Eight were natives of Ohio, one of Indiana, and one of Illinois. Two were born in Ireland, one in Holstein, and one in Holland.

The duration of their residence in Iowa prior to 1860 ranged from three to twenty years. Thirteen delegates had lived in the State an average of only five years. Fourteen had been residents for an average of 13 years and four had lived in Iowa for 23 years. The average duration of the 31 known was twelve years.

As regards their education in the narrow sense of "schooling," one-half of the delegation had but little more than the

usual training afforded in the common schools. They had obtained their education in the give and take of ordinary affairs, behind the plow or at the work bench, in the counting room or behind the counter, at the type-setter's case or in the editorial room, at the bar or on the bench. Nearly half of the delegates had attended academies, then often approximating collegiate institutions in rank or public esteem. Ten delegates had been students at colleges or universities, in most cases being graduates. The major number with collegiate training were natives of northern states, chiefly of New England and the Middle States. Two had been matriculates of European Universities.

In point of scholastic training and attainment, in respect of the mastery of the ancient or classical and the modern languages, and familiarity with the writings of the learned doctors in philosophy and law, Mr. Henry P. Scholte of Marion county, probably could easily claim superior rank. He had his first training at the Athenaeum Illustre of Amsterdam and then became a student and graduate of the University of Leyden. Lt. Governor Ruseh of Scott county, was perhaps entitled to second place: he had been educated first at the Gymnasium in Meldorf and thereafter he studied "eine zeit lang" at the University of Kiel until his participation in the agitation for more liberal government in North Germany in 1846-47 made his emigration to the United States highly expedient.¹ Of the native born, Mr. John A. Kasson was *facile princeps*. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont and early attracted public notice as a writer on legal matters, and as an orator. In 1849, Charles Sumner had spoken of an article containing his suggestions for the reform of the legal procedure of Massachusetts in flattering terms² and in

¹Elboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, p. 417.

²The article referred to may be found in *The Monthly Law Reporter* (Boston) June, 1849, v. 12 (n. s. v. 2) pp. 61-80, entitled *Law Reform—Practice*.

Mr. Sumner's commendation is expressed in strong terms. Three sentences from his letter follow: "I admired the vivid style, the facility of practical illustration, and the complete mastery of the subject which it showed. You have done good service to Jurisprudence, and helped discharge the debt which Lord Bacon tells us we owe to our profession, by this able exposition of a vicious system. I trust that our Commonwealth will have the wisdom to adopt your suggestions." Charles Sumner to John A. Kasson, New Bedford, July 12, 1849. The original is in the Aldrich Collections in the Historical Department of Iowa. The letter is reprinted in *extenso* in E. L. Pierce's *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. III, 43.

1854 when the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis invited the legislators of Illinois to be their guests at a banquet, Mr. Kasson, although a young man, was asked to serve as the toast-master, so great then was his capacity for polished speech.¹

The delegates were engaged in various occupations; but strict classification is not easy for the reason that business and professional pursuits were not then sharply differentiated, nor did those therein always specialize and confine themselves to one line. Nor was private business much lessened during the occupancy of public office. Mr. Coker F. Clarkson of Grundy county had been an influential editor in Indiana, but in 1860 he was a farmer:—then and thereafter, however, was constantly engaged in editorial work. Mr. Jacob Butler of Muscatine, while a well known lawyer, was then largely interested in the operation of banks, a gas company and in railroad construction. Mr. J. B. Grinnell had been technically educated for the ministry and for many years he had followed that profession, doing so even at that time, but he listed himself as a farmer and wool-grower and was constantly engaged in town and railroad building. Mr. Scholte while editing *The Pella Gazette*, was simultaneously acting as a banker, as a lawyer, as a land broker, as a preacher, having been especially educated for the latter profession. Taking those occupations in which they were primarily engaged or in which they were chiefly known, the delegation to Chicago contained one banker, two preachers, four merchants, five farmers and twenty-three lawyers.

The absence of editors from the delegation is noteworthy, particularly in view of the considerable number present in Sherman's Hall, and their normal potency in political matters. Aside from mere chance, two facts may account for their absence. Some of the prominent editors were at that time either occupants of profitable positions in the State or were candidates for them. We have already seen that half a dozen prominent editors were talked of as candidates for public printer. Again the profits of newspapers then depended largely upon the favorable disposition of the allowances of

¹*Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, I, 612.

state and local budgets in the matter of public printing, namely for the publication of the laws and the "delinquent tax lists." Consequently for editors to push for the honor of going to the national convention as accredited delegates was not prudent. However, Mr. Scholte, Mr. A. F. Brown of Black Hawk, Mr. W. Penn Clarke, of Johnson, Mr. C. F. Clarkson, of Grundy, and Mr. Wm. M. Stone of Marion county, had been editors of considerable experience.

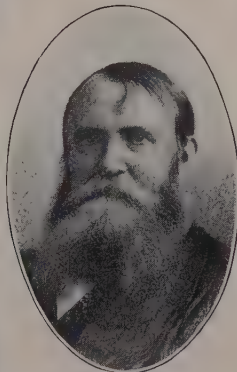
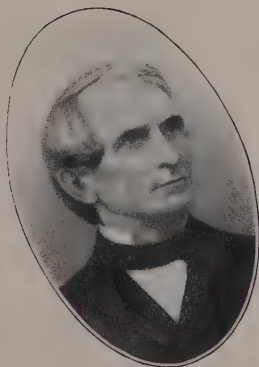
The careers of many of the delegates were then or were to become full of honors and achievement in the public service of the State and of the nation, both in peace and in war. The names of Allison, Caldwell, and Clarkson, of Grinnell, Hepburn and Hoxie, of Hubbard, Kasson and Reuben Noble, of Nourse, O'Connor and Saunders, of Smyth, Stone and Wilson. —these were names to conjure with in Iowa during most of the sixty years just past.

Nearly all of the delegates had made their mark in state affairs before their selection by the convention at Des Moines. Nine had helped to organize the Republican party at Iowa City:—Messrs. J. F. Brown, Jacob Butler, J. W. Caldwell, J. B. Grinnell, C. C. Nourse, Henry O'Connor, John Shane, Wm. M. Stone, and James F. Wilson. Three had taken part in the first national conventions of the party in 1856, Mr. W. Penn Clarke at Pittsburg and Messrs. J. W. Caldwell and R. L. B. Clarke at Philadelphia. Messrs. Reuben Noble, O'Connor and Stone had been the nominees of the Republicans for presidential electors in 1856. Mr. Alvin Saunders had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1846; and Messrs. W. Penn Clarke, R. L. B. Clarke, Thomas Seeley, Wm. A. Warren and James F. Wilson had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1857.

Messrs. A. F. Brown, Hepburn, Nourse and O'Connor and Benjamin Rector had attained local celebrity either as prosecuting or as district attorneys. Mr. Wm. P. Clarke was then reporter for the supreme court. Four of the delegation had occupied the district bench—Judges Hubbard, Rankin, Smyth and Stone. Both Mr. Clarke and Mr. Nourse, though young

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES.

Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860



A. W. HUBBARD
U. S. Representative

J. E. BLACKFORD
Farmer
H. CLAY CALDWELL
U. S. Circuit Judge
JACOB BUTLER *
Lawyer

JOS. W. CALDWELL *
Merchant

H. M. HOXIE *
U. S. Marshal
*Alternates

R. L. B. CLARK *
Lawyer

men, had been urged as candidates for the supreme court. Later Messrs. Nourse, Noble and Shane were elected to the district bench and twice Judge Reuben Noble was the nominee of the Democratic party for the supreme court. Judge Wm. Smyth was then a member of the Code Commission. Two of those just mentioned, Messrs. Nourse and O'Connor, became attorney general of Iowa.

Nine of the delegates had had experience in one or both houses of the state Legislature:—L. C. and Reuben Noble, Thompson and Wilson in the lower and Grinnell, McPherson, Rankin, Rusch, Saunders and Wilson in the upper house. Ten were in the Legislature at the time they were chosen:—Blackford, Bowdoin, Caldwell and L. C. Noble in the House and A. F. Brown, McPherson, Rankin, Saunders, Thompson and Wilson in the Senate. Subsequently Messrs. Butler, Kasson and Seeley were elected to the House; Mr. Butler being elected speaker and Mr. Kasson securing the appropriation for the present state capitol. Mr. C. F. Clarkson and Mr. John Shane were elected to the Senate. Mr. Rusch was Lt. Governor at the time and thereby presiding officer of the Senate.

Messrs. Kasson and Seeley were members of a committee appointed by Gov. Lowe to examine into the condition of the public offices of the State and to report: their recommendations presented in 1860 worked a revolution in the methods of accounting. Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke had been nominated for Governor in 1848 by the Abolition party, and he was frequently mentioned for the office later. Judge Stone in 1863 was elected Governor, serving four years; and in 1872 Mr. O'Connor was a leading candidate for the nomination. Messrs. Geo. A. Hawley, M. L. McPherson and John W. Thompson were prominent candidates for the Republican nomination for secretary of state that year, or in 1862.

Nineteen of the thirty-seven delegates and alternates entered the army service during the Civil War, a number attaining high official rank. Messrs. L. C. Noble, Henry O'Connor, Benjamin Rector and N. J. Rusch became Majors;

J. W. Caldwell and W. P. Hepburn Lt. Colonels; H. C. Caldwell, McPherson, Rankin, Shane and Smyth the rank of Colonel; and Wm. M. Stone attained the rank of Bvt. Brigadier General. Majors Rector and Rusch died at the front.

A third of the delegation had noteworthy careers in the service of the national government either in the administrative branches or on the bench or in Congress. In 1864 President Lincoln appointed Col. H. Clay Caldwell Judge of the Federal District Court for Arkansas, a position in which he steadily increased his fame; and in 1890 President Harrison elevated him to the position of U. S. Judge of the Eighth Circuit, his jurisdiction comprising Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Wyoming and Colorado.

Mr. O'Connor was appointed solicitor of the State Department at Washington by President Grant and served in that important post continuously under Secretaries Fish, Evarts, Blaine and Frelinghuysen.

Mr. Herbert M. Hoxie became United States Marshal for Iowa under President Lincoln and won great applause for the vigor of his administration. Following the war he entered upon an increasingly successful career in the construction of railroads and in railway administration, being at his death in 1886 the virtual head of the Gould system of roads in the southwest and classed among the foremost railway managers in the country.¹

Mr. Kasson's career in the service of the national administration was notable. He was appointed First Assistant Postmaster-General under President Lincoln. He initiated the first International Postal Commission at Paris in 1863, and represented our government. Later he gained distinction as our Minister to the Courts of Austria and Berlin. He represented our government in the Congo Conference at Berlin and in the Samoan Conference at Washington; and was a member of the Canadian Commission. He closed his career as

¹*Harper's Weekly*, XXX, p. 784 (Dec. 4, 1886).

the negotiator of the Treaties of Reciprocity with sundry countries under the McKinley tariff law.

Seven members of the delegation first selected, entered the lower House of Congress—Messrs. Allison of Dubuque, Grinnell of Poweshiek, Hepburn of Marshall, Hubbard of Woodbury, Kasson of Polk, Smyth of Linn and Wilson of Jefferson county. Three other members came near achieving the same distinction. Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Henry was the Whig nominee for Congress in 1854 and fell but little short of winning the election. In 1866 Mr. M. L. McPherson of Madison was the strong third in a triangular contest for the Republican nomination in the old Fifth district, the prize going to Gen. G. M. Dodge. In 1866 Judge Noble of Clayton parted company with the Republican party over President Johnson and reconstruction, and was Mr. Allison's opponent in the congressional canvass. Mr. C. F. Clarkson came near receiving a nomination for Congress in 1868.

In the crucial days of the war and following, there were few more influential men in the lower House at Washington than Wm. B. Allison, John A. Kasson and James F. Wilson. "The men from Iowa" were both guides and leaders in congressional debates and party caucuses and potent in moulding public opinion.¹ Mr. Wm. B. Allison had not served his first term before Mr. James G. Blaine, himself then about succeeding Thaddeus Stevens as leader of the House, included the young Iowan among the three most influential leaders of Congress.²

¹Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times in The American Magazine*, LXIII, 279. "Messrs. Allison, Wilson and Kasson, members of Congress from Iowa, led in the fight against the outbreak of high protection which immediately followed the war."

²*Ibid*, p. 474. Miss Tarbell relates the following: Discussing the domination of Thaddeus Stevens and the emancipation of the Republican party from his rule on his death in 1868, Mr. James G. Blaine in response to a question, "Whom have you got for leaders?" is reported to have said: "There are three young men coming forward. Allison will be heard from, so will James A. Garfield," and then he paused. "Who is the third?" "I don't see the third," Blaine replied, gazing into the dome."

The great goal of political ambition then as nowadays was membership in the Senate of the United States. In connection with the senatorial elections in 1858 and '60 the names of Henry O'Connor, Wm. Penn Clarke and Judge Smyth were mentioned and urged in the former and those of Mr. Butler, Mr. Kasson and Judge Reuben Noble in the latter election. Senator Grimes regarded Judge Smyth as his most dangerous competitor in 1858. In the seventies and again in the eighties Mr. Kasson was the candidate of a powerful group of the party but the fates did not decide in his favor. Three of the delegation, however, entered the Senate. Alvin Saunders of Henry county was appointed Governor of the Territory of Nebraska in 1861, serving until 1867, and in 1883 he was sent to the Senate from that State, serving one term. James F. Wilson, after his distinguished career in the House of Representatives, became a Senator of Iowa in 1883, and remained so up to his death in 1895. In 1873 Mr. W. B. Allison entered the Upper Chamber, after eight years in the House of Representatives, serving without interruption for almost thirty-six years, a career without duplicate in that noted body. Among its members he became, Senator Hale of Maine asserts, "an exalted and accepted leader",¹ whose solid achievements won from Senator Lodge of Massachusetts the encomium that "for many years he was the nation's 'best senator,' " becoming like Webster "one of the institutions" of the country.²

Two of the delegates were at various times widely mentioned in public discussion as candidates for the Presidency. The nomination of Judge H. Clay Caldwell by the national Democratic party was strongly urged in 1896 and 1900; some of his decisions respecting the relations of railroads to their laborers and their relations to the public had made him very popular with the masses as well as with the profession; but he refused to allow his friends to promote him.³ At the national Republican convention at Chicago in 1888, Senator Al-

¹*Congressional Record*, Proceedings in the Senate, Feb. 6, 1909.

²*Ibid.*

³*The Annals of Iowa* (3d Series) VIII, 267.

lison's name was formally presented and the late Senator Hoar of Massachusetts informs us that "no other person ever came so near the Presidency of the United States and missed it," the contrary disposition of one notable alone controlling the vote of the New York delegation and thwarting his nomination.¹

(f) *Contemporary Comment on the Conclusions of the Convention.*

The proceedings and conclusions of the convention, as was the case with the call and the preliminaries thereof, elicited comparatively few comments in the party press of the State. Editorial comment is rare. Epistolary or reportorial comment is more frequent. Such papers as *The News* of Boone, *The Hawk-Eye* of Burlington, *The Intelligencer* of Charles City, *The Daily Gazette* of Davenport, *The Gate City* of Keokuk, *The Journal* of Muscatine, *The Courier* of Ottumwa, *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, made no editorial comment. We need not conclude, however, that their respective editors were either ignorant of or indifferent to the work of the convention. The editors of all, save *The Hawk-Eye* and *The Intelligencer*, were delegates and took part in the proceedings. Some of them sent interesting letters back to their readers in which we find what were virtually editorial observations.

Some of the comments upon the boisterous character of the proceedings have been given. Sundry editors pass judgment upon the significance of the proceedings and a few make assertions as to the attitude of the convention and of its national delegates towards national candidates. Altogether they afford us interesting evidence of the contrary and divergent interpretations of the same transactions. Each one saw what his predilections or prejudices inclined him to see. Their expressions are given with but little condensation in what follows.

¹G. F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, I, 410-413.

In the fore part of 1860 the columns of *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* contained a number of racy letters from "Our Iowa Correspondent." They were the product of the facile pen of Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington. On his return from the convention at Des Moines, where he was chairman of his county's delegation, he wrote the following, dated at Burlington, Jan. 21.

Our state convention for the election of delegates to Chicago was in convulsive throes last Wednesday. As there were over five hundred candidates for the places you can calculate the number in attendance. The representation first proposed was three hundred and thirty, but there being still some disappointed aspirants, the number was made thirty-three. I can give you one negative item of information only—they are *not* for Bates. When people die in this country, they are buried, and though tenderly remembered, are never disinterred for political or other purposes; in which regard we are far behind the refined tastes of our eastern kinsfolk.

My bowels of compassion are strongly moved for the unfortunate seven who may be selected for the cabinet of the Republican president, if, contrary to my expectations, we are to have one. Let them court the protection of granite battlements, mounted with cannon and culverin, ditched and counterscarped, portholed and portcullised. Never since the northern barbarians overran the vine clad hills and valleys of Italy, has there been such an irruption as there will be into Washington with a change of dynasty. Let the prayers of the Christian Church go up in advance for these predestined victims of the universal "give, give," of famished patriotism. We need not waste our supplications on women in the "perils of child birth" and "sick persons and young children," when manhood and mature age are gasping for breath in the suffocation of an office-seeking mob.¹

Another observer, an Ohioan who happened to be in Des Moines the day of the convention, attended its sessions. He gave *The Cincinnati Gazette* an account of the character of the delegates with a slightly different flavor, observing:

Iowa may be relied upon as one of the firm Republican states. The leading politicians are generally young men of a high order of talent, devoted to principles rather than to men; energetic and en-

¹*The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* (wk.) Feb. 4, 1860. The writer is indebted to Mr. Otha Thomas, a graduate student of law in Yale University for the extract.

thusiastic they will arouse the whole State in the coming canvass, to an extent which will result in a Republican majority of at least five thousand votes.¹

A correspondent of *The Fairfield Ledger*, who signs himself "Vindex" discusses the delegation, its work and the party's prospects in a pointed fashion. As Fairfield was Senator James F. Wilson's home town one is curious whether or not his views are reflected. The letter was penned at Des Moines the day following the convention (Jan. 19.)

The delegation is left uninstructed and will go "perfectly free to regulate their vote in their own way" which I think is entirely proper and right. It cannot be told now who it will be best to select as the representative for the ensuing contest. Whoever he may be I hope he will be a full grown Republican—no weakkneed, limber backed, half and half compromiser. The country and the times demand a thoroughbred Republican and I doubt not that the Chicago convention will meet this demand promptly and with the right kind of a man.

The Republican party has a severe contest before it; but a triumph is certain if the right kind of counsels prevail. Advices flow into this point from all sections of the country and evince a strong and steady growth of Republican sentiment—the truth is that a prudent and firm course at Chicago will bring to our support a host of men who are little suspected of Republican proclivities. I am advised of quite a number of leading and influential Democrats who are waiting for the action of the Republican convention before determining their course in the coming canvass. I know that many of them have, in private, said that they are sick of the Democratic party and its detestable dogmas. They acknowledge that the party is completely sold out to the slave power and insist that they cannot and will not continue to insult their intelligence by trying to apologize for and whitewash the flagrant wrongs perpetrated by their party.²

The conspicuous fact in public debate was Slavery. Yet Abolitionism was the *bete noir* of prudent politicians. The convention indulged in no resolutions respecting the vexed question, but it favored two men who were tainted with strong prejudices favorable to the Negro. This phase of the convention's work is adverted to by *The Indianola Visitor*, whose

¹*The Weekly Iowa Citizen*, Feb. 8, 1860.

²*The Fairfield Ledger*, Jan. 27, 1860.

editor, Mr. J. H. Knox, was a Marylander, with an anti-slavery bent but with an aversion for Abolitionists. Writing from Des Moines he says:

You will see by reference to this list [of delegates] that there is just enough of the Brown sympathizing Republicans in the delegation to give it a strong Abolition odor. Grinnell and Clarke are avowed and undeniable Abolitionists; the former having been a bosom friend of the Harper's Ferry insurrectionist up to the moment of his death and would be today loud in praise of his acts were he not afraid that it might possibly be unpopular to openly eulogize treason. When Brown went through his town with a lot of stolen property Mr. Grinnell harbored him and raised money to aid him on his journey to Canada. W. Penn Clarke is known all over the State as an Abolitionist and is the leader of that wing of the party to which he belongs. He is a man of ability—one who has worked his own passage through life from the position of a tramping journeyman printer to that of a prominent politician and one of the ablest members of the bar in the State. With the aid of Grinnell, Clarke will make the Iowa delegation show the ebony at Chicago. I do not know whom the majority of the delegation are in favor of for President, nor do I think they can consistently decide in favor of any Republican. The call for the national convention is not for a Republican convention but for one composed of delegates from every party opposed to the policy of James Buchanan. Under the call Free Lovers, Garrisonites and Woman's Rights parties, all have a perfect right to send their delegates to the convention and there put forth their candidate for nomination.¹

Similar, but much less sympathetic sentiments were expressed by Mr. Stilson Hutchins, who had then but recently assumed editorial control of the *Iowa State Journal*, the organ of the Democrats at the capital city. Under the caption "‘Union Men’ of the North" he made (Jan. 21) the following comments on some of the notables honored by the convention:

Wm. Penn Clarke, one of John Brown's Iowa correspondents when that "martyr" was at Harper's Ferry, perfecting his "unwise and censurable scheme," heads the list of delegates to represent the great Republican States rights party at Chicago.

J. B. Grinnell, as pure an Abolitionist as today treads Massachusetts soil—and the man who, in the pulpit of the Congregational

¹The *Indianola Visitor*, Jan. 26, 1860.

church in the town of Grinnell, in Poweshiek county, stood by the side of John Brown, then reeking with the blood of his murdered victims, and appealed to the audience to subscribe liberally to aid him on his way, is a co-delegate.

Jacob Butler, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Convention of which Clarke and Grinnell are the representatives, attended as a delegate a Disunion Abolition Convention at Chicago last summer, and made, of all members, the most infamous disunion speech. These are the representatives of the "conservative" spirit of the country, and the candidates they put in nomination, Webster and Clay Whigs will feel proud to support.

One of the obstreperous facts in the political field in 1860 was the presence of the foreign voter and his belligerent disposition in all matters closely affecting his welfare. Both parties studiously avoided irritating the foreign born; but the latter's experience with Know-Nothingism was still a vivid memory and we see some signs of their sensitiveness respecting their treatment in the comments of the press. The chief fact in the proceedings of the convention as Mr. F. M. Zieback, editor of the *Sioux City Register*, the organ of the Democratic party in the northwest part of the State saw it, was the clash of the elements in respect of slavery and the "foreigners." He thus characterized the proceedings:

There were three different elements in the Convention, viz.: The Irrepressible Brown Republicans who favored Seward; the Germans who favored a Michigan gentleman, and the dark lantern party who favored Bates. They had a stormy time, as might be expected.¹

In the columns of *The Pella Gazette* we find some interesting observations upon the makeup of the delegation that indicate how real to the foreign born was the fear of nativistic antagonism and how welcome were definite signs of its abatement. Mr. Scholte observed:

If our readers look over the list of delegates they will perceive that not only the different parts of the State are represented in the delegation, but also that several naturalized citizens are among the delegates. The last feature is certainly a renewed and indubitable proof that there is no proscription of foreign birth. That part of the population of Iowa has a fair proportion in the representation

¹The *Sioux City Register*, Jan. 28, 1860.

of our State in the national convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. We call attention to that particular feature because the Democratic leaders are continually trying to influence foreign born citizens by the unwarranted assertion that the Republican party is under the control of the party generally known as the Know-Nothing or Native American.

We do not object to a native American having more sympathy with the native born—that is natural—and exists among Democrats as well as Republicans; but when that natural sympathy degenerates into exclusion and proscription of citizens of foreign birth it ought to be denounced and resisted. We are therefore well pleased to see the frequent refutation of that slander by the Republican party in the election of foreign born citizens.¹

A few surmises are ventured as to the attitude of the delegation selected for Chicago towards the candidates for the Presidency. Some are direct and positive, some are balanced with alternatives. They indicate the inclinations of the writers as much as they do their cool judgment. The correspondent of *The Vinton Eagle*, presumably Senator Drummond, wrote, under date of Jan. 23:

The "Irrepressibles" are well represented on the delegation, a majority being of that faith. But it makes no difference about that in this State. Iowa is sure to give her vote to the Chicago nominee whoever he may be, and the general impression here is that Cameron will be the man.²

On January 20 a correspondent wrote *The Keosauqua Republican* from Des Moines:

The Convention sent 33 delegates to Chicago to cast 8 votes. Many of the delegates are supposed to be Seward men, though most of them declared themselves not committed and determined to be influenced in their choice only by considerations of public good and availability. No doubt a large portion of the delegation will go for Seward if they believe from the sentiment and lights developed at Chicago that he can be elected. Some of the delegates undoubtedly have a decided preference for some more conservative man, or at least some one who is regarded by the people as a more conservative man.³

¹*The Pella Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1860.

²*The Vinton Eagle*, Jan. 31, 1860.

³*The Keosauqua Republican*, Jan. 27, 1860.

About the same date the correspondent of *The Dubuque Times*, presumably Mr. Frank W. Palmer, penned the following:

Some of the delegates expressed their unalterable determination to cast their votes and use all honorable means within their power to secure the nomination and election of the "man of the hour" whose past career, unclouded and unspotted, shall be deemed a sufficient guarantee of his future action—a true and unfaltering exponent of the principles of the Republican party¹

One might conclude that Gov. Seward was in the mind of those delegates with "unalterable determination" but the conclusion is not necessary.

A correspondent of *The Gate City* wrote the following dated at Des Moines, Jan. 21:

The delegates were uninstructed, which was right. All the proposed candidates have friends among them, though we presume no one has a majority. We think Lincoln and Cameron have more friends, very decidedly, than any other two.²

The same sentiment was expressed by the veteran, John Teesdale, in terms that summarize many of his own editorial observations in *The Citizen* during the year preceding:

The delegates go uncommitted; as they should do. No attempt was made to pack the delegation for any aspirant to the Presidency. Seward, Chase, McLean, Bates, Lincoln, Cameron, and other distinguished statesmen, have their friends in the delegation. But when it is fairly ascertained who is the man to bear aloft the Republican banner, and lead the free masses to victory, Iowa will be found ready to declare her preference.³

A dispatch to the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, printed Jan. 21, declared that the delegates from Iowa were in favor of the nomination of Mr. Seward. Later reports contradicted the first advices. An editorial rectifying first comments concluded with the observation "The spirit of the Iowa Republicans was and is, to go for the man who seems likeliest to be elected when the national convention meets, provided al-

¹Reprinted in *The Lyons Weekly Mirror*, Jan. 26, 1860.

²*The Gate City*, Jan. 26, 1860.

³*The Daily Iowa State Register*, Jan. 20, 1860.

ways that he is a staunch Republican with a backbone perfectly straight." This sentiment of *The Press* elicited the following from Mr. Add H. Sanders:

The Press is right. The Iowa delegation will enter the Republican national convention as every other delegation should do, unpledged to any man and thus in a position to calmly make their choice after the claims and strength of the different candidates for nomination are thoroughly investigated, with the sole object before them of the success of the Republican party above and beyond any particular individual's personal elevation. Whoever is nominated of those whose names have been prominently mentioned in connection with the position, our delegation may safely promise the people and the party the electoral vote of Iowa. The people will redeem this promise most gloriously. No State in the Union is more thoroughly impregnated with the spirit of true Republicanism than Iowa.¹

Mr. John Mahin noting the first dispatch or a similar report referred to above wrote *The Muscatine Daily Journal* denying its authenticity and saying:

We judge from conversation with many of the delegates and from the hearty applause which greeted the mention of Mr. Seward's name by the gentlemen who addressed the convention, that he is the first choice of the majority of the Republicans of the State; but the disposition appeared unanimous to acquiesce in the action of the national convention.²

The extract from the *Press and Tribune* quoted above was reprinted in *Der Demokrat* also of Davenport with comment in agreement, concluding with the observation: "... at present the views of the several delegates in regard to the president to be nominated are still widely diverging."³

Another paper of Chicago, the *Journal*, announced that "the delegates . . . it is understood, favor the nomination of Mr. Seward for the Presidency." Commenting on this statement, Mr. Clark Dunham said:

¹*The Davenport Daily Gazette*, Jan. 27, 1860.

²*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Jan. 23, 1860.

³*Der Demokrat*, Jan. 24, 1860. The writer is indebted to Mr. Harry E. Downer and Dr. August P. Richter of Davenport for the citations from *The Daily Gazette* and *Der Demokrat* relative to the reports and comments in *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago.

Our Chicago contemporary has sources of information which are inaccessible to us. So far as we can learn our delegation is not committed to *any* candidate, the sentiment of the convention was, that our representatives shall consult and co-operate with those from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Indiana. We think we may venture to say, that whoever is the strongest in these states will be the one for whom our vote will be thrown.¹

So far as the writer can discover no criticism of the convention because of its action or non-action in the matter of instructions, or in respect of the makeup of the delegation, or the alleged or presumed preferences of the delegates for candidates, was made by any Republican editor in Iowa. None indicated any positive or insistent preferences. Each and all seem to assume and to presume that success at the polls in the coming election was the paramount consideration. The ambitions of candidates or the claims of their friends or promoters and the demands of this or that state or section for "recognition" were minor matters and negligible.

(g) *Commentary and Conclusion.*

However one may regard the character of the delegates to the Republican state convention that assembled in Sherman's Hall on Wednesday afternoon, January 18, 1860; whatever conclusion is tenable as to the *motif* impelling the delegates in the proceedings; and be one's opinion such as it may as to the character or careers of the delegates selected by the convention to represent its wishes and to determine for its members on the proper course at Chicago—several conclusions are justified by the foregoing exhibits.

If a "machine" controlled in the preliminaries of the convention at Des Moines, that is in the caucuses and conventions in the cities and country districts in the selection of the county delegates, the managers of the machine picked and sent to Des Moines some of the best ability and finest character to be found in the Republican party in Iowa at the time of its maximum vigor and virtue. Its delegates thoroughly represented not only the vitality of the party, but the general average of Iowa's citizenship.

¹*See Davy Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 25, 1860.

If "politics" controlled in the proceedings of the convention at Des Moines it was the natural and necessary result of the collision of contrary interests in the State whose representatives in the nature of the case sought position and power to protect and further those interests. The conclusion of their proceedings—their negation of instructions or of the unit rule—in the light of the conditions then manifest and in the judgment of those who have studied them in the lights and shades of subsequent events, was the very essence of common sense as well as the very substance of political wisdom.

If the delegates selected by Iowa's Republicans on January 18, 1860, to represent them in the celebrated convention at Chicago were "politicians" and "wire-pullers" they were certainly excellent samples of the species—and a sort that it would be well if their numbers and kind would increase and multiply.

The attitude of the delegates in Sherman's Hall towards national issues and the several candidates then mentioned and urged upon their consideration completely represented the dominant wish of the rank and file of the party throughout the State as it was indicated in their party press during the year preceding. Prejudices relative to sundry moot points that aroused animosity and alienated allies and personal preferences for particular candidates were deliberately checked, in order that there might result an efficient harmony on matters of universal interest among the opposition to the Administration in control at Washington.

Finally the name of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois seems to have been as much in the minds and in the calculations of the delegates and leaders at Des Moines, as were the names of Banks or Bates or Cameron or Chase or Fessenden or McLean or Wade—and possibly—or Seward.

ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1850.

*Journal and Letters of Jerome Dutton, Written During an Overland Journey from Scott County, Iowa, to Sacramento County, California, in the Year Named.*¹

INTRODUCTORY.

In the biographical section of "The History of Clinton County, Iowa," published in 1879 by the Western Historical Company of Chicago, appear brief sketches of Jerome Dutton, on page 792, and of Lorenzo D. Dutton and Josiah F. Hill, on page 810. In each of these sketches mention is made of a trip taken across the plains to California in the spring and summer of 1850. The three men named, with others, made this long journey in company, and one, at least, of the party, kept a journal of the expedition.

This journal follows, together with several supplementary letters by Jerome Dutton, the writer of the journal, during, or shortly after the conclusion of the journey. Both the journal and the letters appear herein essentially as they were written. To avoid repetition, portions of the letters have been omitted, and in the furtherance of a connected narrative occasional detail mentioned in the letters and omitted from the journal are herein included in the journal. These changes, however, are few; and otherwise no alterations have been made, except to eliminate some errors of punctuation and orthography, and to add an occasional note that may aid

¹On Dec. 29, 1850, Jerome Dutton sent his journal by mail from Mormon Island, Cal., to Le Roy Dutton in Clinton County, Iowa. Before mailing it he inscribed the subjoined note on the fly leaf:

"You must let no one see my journal. There are so many mistakes in it and I have not had time to rectify them. But I will do it when I get home. This is just enough to keep it fresh in memory. Remember that a good part of it was written after dark with no other light than such as I could make out of buffalo chips.—Jerome."

in identifying some of the persons mentioned. Whenever reference is made to the "History of Clinton County" the volume described at the beginning is the book alluded to.

Before they started on this journey, the three men named entered into a contract with Rudolphus S. Dickinson whereby he was to provide them and their belongings with transportation to California, and with board during the trip. Whether others of the party went under the same terms is not known. For this service Mr. Dickinson was to receive, according to the evidences at hand, \$400 from each individual. He was, however, unable to fully perform his part of the contract. When the party reached the Missouri river it became evident that from thence forward the burdens of the horses and oxen must be lightened, and as the best means of reaching this end, the men in the party made the entire remainder of the journey from the Missouri river to their destination on foot. In the middle fifties when many of the party had returned to Iowa, Mr. Dickinson began suit, with Cook and Dodge, of Davenport, as his attorneys, against Hill and the two Dutton brothers for \$400 each under this contract, but as he had failed to provide them with transportation and as the defendants had performed many services for him, he obtained only a modified judgment.

It is, perhaps, not out of place to mention here that the town of Dixon in Scott county, takes its name, in an abbreviated form, from the leader of this party, who opened the first store in the community, when it was known as Little Walnut Grove. He was also one of the founders of the town of Calamus in Clinton county. On page 633 of the "History of Clinton County" appears the following: "Calamus . . . was platted in 1860 by R. S. Dickinson, who owned the land on the north side of the railroad. He and his son, A. L. Dickinson, built the first store of consequence and opened a large line of merchandise and engaged in grain buying."

Jerome Dutton, with his brother Lorenzo, left California in the early summer of 1854, returning by way of the Isthmus of Panama, thence to New York city and from there by rail to Davenport, Iowa. He was born March 2nd, 1826, in Afton

(then Bainbridge) Chenango county, N. Y., being the fifth son of Charles and Nancy (Pearsall) Dutton. His mother died in 1837, and in the fall of that year he, together with his father and four brothers, Le Roy, Lorenzo Dow, John, and Charles went to Potter county, Penn., where they lived with his mother's brother, Samuel Pearsall, until the following spring. They then went by raft to Madison, Ind., where they lived with another uncle, William Dutton, until December, 1838. The father and his sons, Le Roy, John, Charles and Jerome, then started for Iowa, proceeding down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, but at Alton, Ills., the river became frozen over and the party remained there until the spring of 1839. They then continued up the river to Comanche, where they left the boat and walked out to the home of another uncle, William Pearsall. Here, along the banks of the Wapsipinicon river in the south-east corner of Olive township, Clinton county, the father and his sons, Le Roy, John, Charles and, in 1842 Lorenzo, established what were to be the homes of four of them for the remainder of their lives. Here the brother John died in 1840, the father, Charles Sr., in 1859, Le Roy, Dec. 19th, 1894, Lorenzo D., March 13th, 1895. Charles, who survived all the others, died April 2nd, 1899, at Durant, Iowa, whence he had moved from his farm in Olive township only the year before.

Until his marriage, Jerome Dutton lived, for the most part, with his oldest brother, Le Roy. He was married November 16th, 1856, at Tipton, Cedar county, Iowa, by Judge W. H. Tuthill, to Celinda, a daughter of Francis and Rhoda (Chaplin) Parker. A few months later he took up his abode on his farm on the south bank of the Wapsipinicon in Allen's Grove township, Scott county.

In 1859 he bought the Buena Vista ferry that had, some years previously, been operated by Dr. Amos Witter, and the south landing of which was on the north-east corner of his farm. He operated this ferry until the fall of 1864 when the ferry at this point was discontinued, and he moved to the neighboring town of Dixon. From thence he moved to

Wheatland, in Clinton county, in the fall of 1865. Here, directly after his arrival, he opened an insurance, real estate, collecting and loan office, and also began a large business as an auctioneer. These were his business pursuits for the remainder of his life. He held many minor offices in his home community and was Justice of the Peace for many years. He was Postmaster at Wheatland at the time of his death, which occurred October 4th, 1893.

References to Charles Dutton, Sr., or his sons may be found on pages 352, 363, 364, 365, 392, 792, and 810 "History of Clinton County." C. W. D.

Journal.

Started from home¹ for California March 31st, 1850, and from Allen's Grove [Scott Co.] April 3rd. Stopped over night with Mr. Owens and Bennett in Walnut Grove in company with Daniel Carlisle, Josiah Hill, L. D. Dutton, John Gochenour, Sam. Adam, and John White and the latter's wife. Mr. and Mrs. Powell, Solomon Gee and two Irish boys from Illinois by the name of John and Henry Hart. The second night we stayed at ——— Akerman's, in Posten's Grove. Here we received a visit from Mr. Owen and Andrew and John Posten.²

April 5th we stayed in Tipton at the home of Abraham Lett, a very jovial old fellow. We had a "rake down" there that evening, Adam White presiding as fiddler. Left Tipton April 6th, and after ploughing through sloughs all day we stopped at the house of John Johnston, a distance of five miles from Tipton.

¹The farm of LeRoy Dutton, in Sec. I, Olive township, Clinton county.

²The Mr. Powell mentioned died about a year after his arrival in California. His widow, Elizabeth Powell, married F. E. Rothstein, in March, 1852. Mr. Rothstein went to California by the overland route in 1849, and in the spring of 1857, he and his wife returned to Scott county. In 1861 he moved into Clinton county, and built and operated "Rothstein's Mill,"—a landmark for many years—on the north bank of the Wapsipicon river in Olive township. A sketch of Mr. Rothstein is given on page 813, "History of Clinton County." The "Mr. Owen" last mentioned was John Ervin Owen, whose wife, Diantha, was the eldest sister of Celinda Parker, whom Jerome Dutton subsequently married. Andrew and John Posten were sons of James Posten. James Posten was the earliest settler in the northwest corner of Scott county, and "Posten's Grove" took its name from him.

.We left Johnston's Sunday morning April 7th, and crossed the Cedar at Washington's Ferry. We traveled two miles farther and tarried at the house of John Doland. . . .

On the 8th we arrived at our Capitol and camped close by the College. Iowa City is not a very pretty place, the houses are scattering and generally very small. There are several small churches, however, among which are the Congregational, Baptist, Universalist and several others. The State House is a rather good looking building built of unhewn stone. We were advised at Iowa City to take the southern route on account of the scarcity of feed on the northern, but I now believe it would have been better to have taken the northern route, for the hay and corn began to grow very scarce as soon as we left the city, and the northern is a much nearer route.

On the 9th we crossed the Iowa river at the middle ferry, drove 12 miles and stopped at the house of William Fry. Here feed began to grow scarce, and we started in the morning of the 10th before feeding hay simply because we could not get it. We drove four miles and put up at the house of an old bachelor by the name of Lambert. He was a smart looking man and had everything about him much nicer than any other man on the road. In this he is the equal of old man Dickerman. We got corn of him for 40 cents per bushel, and went about five miles off the road and got a ton of hay delivered for \$6.50. We laid up here the 11th, 12th and 13th.

On the 14th we left Lambert's and crossed English river (on a bridge) at Warrensville, and after traveling over a rough and sloughy country a distance of 20 miles stopped at the house of John Houston. William and the Parkers stayed at the same house last spring.¹ We got no feed here except what we hauled with us 20 miles.

All day the 14th the country is about the same; the land high, wet and cold. We stopped near Sigourney, Keokuk Co.

¹William R. Pearsall, Francis Parker, and the latter's son, Francis Jackson Parker. The three, in company had followed this route to California in the spring of 1849. William R. Pearsall was a son of the William Pearsall mentioned in the introduction hereto, and thus a cousin of Jerome Dutton. His wife, Rhoda, was a daughter of Francis Parker, and thus a sister of Jerome Dutton's future wife.

The country begins to look better this morning, the 16th. We drove 11 miles today and laid up at Louis Gregory's, the best man we have met with yet, and lives in the prettiest country we have passed through. He sold us the hay off his stable roof, and it was the cheapest hay we have bought at that. We got corn from a man that lives four miles off the road for 55 cents, delivered.

We laid by again the 17th, 18th and 19th, and to pass away the time Daniel Carlisle bought three chickens and put them up at a distance of 15 rods to be shot at with the rifle held at arms length. I killed one the first shot I made. He also got two turkeys and put them up at 25 rods. Ten shots brought them both down. We have some first-rate marksmen in our crowd.

On the 20th we again set out and after going two miles forded the north branch of Skunk river—a beautiful mill stream. About eight miles from there we ferried the south fork. Here we met five very pretty girls on their way to meeting and they created quite a sensation throughout the company. The country from this fork back a distance of 20 miles is as beautiful a country as ever I saw, and is in Keokuk Co. After crossing the south fork it was quite different, being very hilly and sloughy. We camped that night near Oskaloosa the county seat of Mahaska Co.

On the 21st we drove into Oskaloosa and there heard that a Californian named Hudson had died and been buried there the day before, and the citizens mistrusted that his remains had been dug up. We went one mile beyond town and put up at the house of E. Hale. After we had fed our teams we went back to town to find out the truth of the matter. The citizens opened the grave and found the body missing. Two doctors, E. W. Pierson and G. Singer, with ——— Sampsel as accessory, had hired two men by the names of James Moore and ——— Wallace to dig up the body and bring it to their buggy. The body was found while we were in town. I never in my life felt so much like putting mob law in force as I did when I saw the body. It caused considerable excitement among the Californians as well as the citizens and there

was a crowd around all day. The two men who dug up the body made their escape, but Dr. Pierson and Singer were taken at night with a warrant, but were released under bonds of \$1,000. The suit was just called as we left there on the 22nd.

We ferried the Des Moines at Tuley's [Tool's] ferry (or ford) and stayed all night at Belle Fountain, a little town on the south side. Here we got corn for 75 cents per bushel. The 23rd we stayed at Wolf's Run. The night of the 24th we stayed five miles from any house in a pretty place and killed a large wild turkey. On the 25th we arrived at Chariton Point where we got hay for \$1.00 per hundred and corn for \$1.50 per bushel. This place is 40 miles from the Des Moines.

Here we struck the old Mormon trail and from this on had a first rate road with the exception that it was more crooked than the Wapsipinicon. The 28th we passed through Mount Pisgah, a settlement of Mormons that stopped here in 1846 because they were so poor they could not get any farther. There are about 60 families. All that are able are going on to Salt Lake this season. This settlement is about 60 miles from any other. They have seen hard times here. They have a mill on Grand river which runs through the town, but they are selling out as fast as they can and leaving for the Land of Promise. This place is 125 miles from Council Bluffs. We bought corn here for 25 cents per bushel. This corn the Mormons had brought from the Missouri, a three days' journey, expressly to sell to the Californians.

On the 29th we started for the Nishnabotna, 75 miles from Mount Pisgah, with (we are told) only one settler in the distance. [We find] the Mormons settled along the road all the way where there is timber; but this is scarce. The road is very crooked in consequence of proceeding through a rough part of the country and keeping on the dividing ridge all the way.

We arrived on the Nishnabotna May 3rd. It is a small but very pretty stream and is about 50 miles from St. Francis. There are speckled trout in this stream, and the prairies are

very large all through here. This is on the North Fork, the South Fork being 20 miles distant. There is an old Indian town here of the same name but there is no one here now but about nine families of Mormons. It is a very pretty country and, I think, a healthy one.

May 6th. Today we got within 5 miles of Trader's Point (or St. Francis) and camped in the timber. We stayed in this vicinity until the 16th.

Letter No. 1.

St. Francis, Iowa, May 7th, A. D. 1850.

Dear Brother:—

We started from Allen's Grove April 3rd. (Here follow extracts from his journal already given.) I have mentioned all names so that from time to time as I write you may know who I mean when I say that we are all well, &c. I shall number each letter so that you will know if any miscarry. I should have written before, but after we had got far enough to make it interesting there was no post-office.

We camped today within 5 miles of Trader's Point, and here I am sitting on the wagon tongue writing to you. There is no town nor post-office here by the name of Council Bluffs, but that name is applied to a large tract of country here. The only post-office near here is the Mormon town, Kanessville. I forgot to tell you that in Tipton I traded my new thick boots to Henry Hart for a pair that he got a shoemaker in Illinois to make for him. He had worn them only a few days. They were too large for him so he gave me an even trade, and a good trade it was for me. I also traded my rifle for a U. S. piece that carries a ball of almost half an ounce weight. It is a new rifle at that.

I will now wait until I find out when we start.

May 16th.

Dickinson arrived the 9th and we have joined a company and expect to cross the river tomorrow. On this date we organized a company to be called the "Fear Not." William Clapp is our Captain, R. S. Dickinson, Lieut., Thomas W.

Hinchman, Clerk. I have not room for the By-Laws. The Captain was through last spring and is now taking his family through. We have a good many families in our company. I think it will be very doubtful about L. D. D. writing to Charles. I have spoken to him a dozen times, but we have such a poor chance that it is hard to get at it. I have got me a good revolver in my belt and I feel perfectly safe, although some difficulty with the Indians is apprehended. We have seen along the road nine dead horses and one dead ox. I have neither seen nor heard anything of Scott or James.¹ If they are not short of money I lose my guess. Flour has been \$7 per hundred here until lately. It is now \$5. If you want to know how I feel I can tell you that I would hate awfully to be back there working for \$15 per month. I have been well ever since I started and weigh 179 pounds. I was exposed to, but did not take the measles. Smallpox is prevalent here but the vaccination in my arm worked very well. I have vaccinated several. The grass is just high enough to start on and that is all. It is very dry and dusty and the grass can grow only in the sloughs.

I found my rifle was more bother than profit so I traded it for a patent lever watch, pronounced by good judges to be worth \$25. Kanesville is a small place but the business done here would astonish you. Just at this time five or six auctioneers are holding sales, and property sells well. A great many have come here to buy their outfits. Some sell out and hire their passage through, and some back out because of funds running out. Love to all. I would write more if I had room.

Respects of,

LeRoy Dutton.

Jerome Dutton.

¹William Scott, and James B. and Abner Alger had preceded them along this route but a week or two. William Scott's wife, Harriet M. Pearsall, was a daughter of the Samuel Pearsall mentioned in the Introduction. At this writing (December, 1909) Mr. Scott is living, at an advanced age, in Calamus, Iowa, and of all those mentioned herein, as having made the journey to California, it is believed he is the only survivor. A sketch of Mr. Scott appears on page 813, "History of Clinton County." James B. and Abner Alger were sons of Oliver Alger, who is mentioned in the sketch of Rev. Dewitt C. Curtis on page 809, "History of Clinton County," as being one of the first settlers in Olive township. Abner Alger enlisted in Company A, of the Eighth Iowa Infantry, Aug. 12, 1861. He was captured at the battle of Shiloh and died in St. Louis during the war.

Journal.

We drove (May 16th) within four miles of the ferry and laid over until the 18th. We number 22 wagons, 57 men, 6 women, 9 children, 10 horses and 157 head of cattle. This is rather a larger company than common. We crossed the Missouri at the old Mormon ferry, which is distant 12 miles from Kanessville. Therefore we did not cross until the 18th.

There was a willow shade on the bank at the ferry beneath which a seller of "hot stuff" had set up shop. As this was the last chance, some of our boys soon felt finely. Several companies were on the bank waiting for their turn to cross, and as the last load (I was on board) of our company shoved off from shore some one on the bank proposed three cheers for the departing company, and there went up three deafening "Hurrahs."

There are a few log houses here at the river where the Mormons wintered one season in the Nebraska or Indian Territory and it goes by the name of "Winter Quarters." I mention this for the reason that the distances on this road are all measured from that point. The Mormons measured the distance from there to the Salt Lake by means of a "Roadometre" and therefore all the crooks and turns in the road are measured and this is one reason why it is so far. We drove 6 miles from Winter Quarters and stopped until morning.

On Sunday, the 19th, we drove to the Elkhorn and ferried and corraled around the Liberty Pole put up by the Mormons some years ago. We make a corral in this way: At night we form our wagons in a circle and put the tongue of each wagon up on the hind end of the wagon in front of it. A chain is run from the hind end board of one to the fore end of the next wagon. We leave a place large enough to drive in the cattle and in this way we yard them. Then we stretch a rope across the entrance, and the corral is finished. In this way we often get along with only three watchmen. It is necessary to keep guard all the time, and when we herd the cattle it generally takes five men.

We turn the cattle out at half past 3 in the morning and keep with them night and day. We passed a company that had lost 55 head of cattle by leaving them just before daylight. We passed them in the evening, and although they had been looking for their cattle all day they had not found them. The cattle had taken fright at something and ran away all in one direction and got such a start that their owners could not overtake them.

The country from here on is as level as any land I ever saw. This is the Platte bottoms; very low but the road was good.

We followed up the Platte without any trouble until we came to Looking Glass creek, a stream that enters into the Loup fork. But on the night of the 19th and again the evening of the 22nd we had very heavy thunder showers and consequently when we arrived at the creek on the 23rd we found it very much swollen and the bridge gone. We therefore had to stop and corral at 12 o'clock and proceed to build a bridge 52 feet long. We had it ready to cross on the next morning, having plenty of help from other companies in the same fix. There were many Pawnees along the road from the Elkhorn to this stream, and great beggars they are, too.

After crossing this stream we went about 8 miles and formed a corral on the bank of Beaver river. Here we were again water bound, and built, not a wire but a brush suspension bridge. There was some flood trash collected in the middle of the stream and using this for a pier we felled some willows onto it from each shore. We then cut brush and laid across the willows thick enough so that we could haul our wagons over by hand. Our cattle we swam over to the west bank where we remained over night. There were six other companies corraled there, also, and in all there were 304 men, 24 women, 21 children, 920 head of cattle, 73 horses and 154 wagons.

Sunday, the 25th, we traveled about 6 miles and forded the Loup fork of the Platte at a point 133 3-4 miles from Winter Quarters. We had to raise our wagon boxes 8 inches to clear the water and had to drive very crooked and keep moving

to prevent our wagons from sinking in the quick sand. Several wagons belonging to other companies were stalled and nearly upset in consequence of the sand washing out from under one side faster than the other. But the wagons were quickly got out; otherwise they would have soon been under the water. Their drivers did not follow the road that Capt. Clapp had staked out. They thought their road the best, but they found out their mistake. We have a first rate captain. The Mormons claim him, but I guess he is not much of a Mormon. William Davison crossed right after us and passed us here.

Wild onions were plenty from the Elkhorn here, growing in some places as thick as they could stand. The country from Winter Quarters here is almost destitute of timber. There are some willows and cottonwoods (although but few) along the creeks and the Platte. Such of these trees as there are along the Platte, or Loup fork are mostly on the islands. It is a very flat country, but pretty prairie.

We came past some old Pawnee villages that were destroyed by the Sioux in the fall of 1846. Their main town covered about 20 acres and was walled in with a turf wall. But the Sioux had taken them by surprise in the night and burned their town and massacred a great many of its inhabitants. Their bones lay about in every direction, and there were also a great many buffalo skulls that look as if the buffaloes were killed about the same time as the Indians. I suppose the Pawnees had trespassed upon the Sioux hunting grounds, and that is what the fuss originated from.

The Chief of the Pawnees came out to the road to see us. He was the best looking Indian of his tribe. He had on a silver medal on one side of which was inscribed "Peace & Friendship" showing also a tomahawk and pipe and two hands firmly clasped.

On the other side was a head of James Madison with an inscription reading "A. D. 1803." He was a young man and this medal has doubtless been handed down from chief to chief.

Close by their town that was destroyed was a large piece of breaking that I suppose was done for them by the Government when they were moved there. I saw an old Peacock plough near. But their ground is now deserted and they now live farther down the river and on the opposite side.

May 28th: This day we saw the first prairie dog city. They are much smaller than I expected, being about the size of a large grey prairie ground squirrel. In color they are between a gopher and a prairie grey squirrel. They resemble a dog but very little. They keep up an awful barking as you approach them but never bark until they are right over their holes ready to dive in. When barking their motion is something like a small dog, but their bark does not in the least resemble the bark of a dog. I have seen a tract as large as 200 acres quite thickly covered with their houses, which are, in fact, nothing but a small heap of dirt with a hole in the top. There are in Texas, I am told, a much larger kind which much more resemble the dog.

May 30th: This day a gentleman was kind enough to offer me the use of his horse so that I might go hunting. His offer was most thankfully accepted. I started in the morning and was gone until noon. I saw plenty of antelope, an animal smaller than a deer. They make a noise similar to a young cow, and are generally quite tame. Their meat is excellent. I caught one young antelope. After petting it awhile and wishing that it was at my home back in Iowa I went on and left it. I saw many gray wolves, but no buffalo except dead ones. They were plenty. Whether they died from starvation or were killed by the Indians I do not know, but a great many of them had never been skinned.

Saw plenty of prickly pear for the first time. They resemble a large leaf on the ground. They are covered with stickers about half an inch long. There [are] some that look like a pineapple.

May 31st: This day we drove 28 miles and passed several other companies under way. At night we made use of buffalo

chips for the first time to cook our supper with. I was agreeably disappointed when we got the fire started and found that they burned so much better than I expected. It is not a hard matter to find them, for they are plentiful.

June 1st. This day our company killed its first buffalo, a large cow. She was chased in from the bluffs toward our train and several of us started out with our rifles to meet her, but she was killed by her pursuers before I had a chance to give her a shot.

June 2nd: We had traveled 16 miles today—which was altogether the hottest day we have had up to this time—when the Captain rode along the train and told us to halt and get a drink of water at a good spring that rose a few rods from the road. We stopped, and nearly all of us had gathered at the spring, when a pack horse came running past. He frightened and started the hindmost team and they turned out to pass the next team ahead. At this they, too, took a start and so on until every team in the train was off in a perfect stampede. This made a scattering at the spring, every man running for his team. John White was run over by another team in attempting to stop his own, but came out unhurt. Powell was run over and seriously scared, but not much hurt. Mrs. Dickinson was also run over by four yoke of cattle, and somewhat bruised. I presume the wheels did not strike her, although Dickinson thinks that one passed over her ankle. In consequence of the bruises she is not able to walk. She got out of the wagon with her little boy, but in falling she fell over him and he escaped unhurt. The stampede was a grand as well as an awful sight. It lasted 15 minutes of 4 o'clock when it commenced. The cattle were very tired and warm, and so were we. This was the first good water we had since crossing the Missouri, a distance of 289 miles. We had frequent thunder showers and every creek was black with the mud washed in from a large scope of country. Many a drink of water did I take that I would not have washed in at home. All these circumstances together render the Cold Springs a spot that will long be remembered by the most of us.

June 3rd: This was a day of hard work. We laid over to wash and bake in preparation for crossing a 200 mile strip of country barren, with the exception of one lone tree, of a single stick of timber. We took some wood with us to start the fires, but buffalo chips are the principal part of our fuel, and they are plentiful. There [are] places where they may be gathered, I believe, at the rate of ten bushels to the acre.

While I was walking around here I came across a buffalo skull, and I measured it between the inside corners of the eyes. The distance was 13 1-2 inches. The animal had been killed but a short time. Here also was the grave of a man named Gordon, from Dubuque county, Iowa. He died the first day of May.

June 4th: We left with the intention of going to Fort Laramie before laying up. Nothing of importance transpired until Sunday, the 9th. When Lieut. Dickinson was called on watch this morning he refused to serve, in consequence of his wife being unable to help herself. Some of the company found fault with him and the matter was brought before the company at 12 o'clock. The decision was in Dickinson's favor. Some other difficulties arose, one being that the Captain drove too fast to suit Dickinson and his associates, and they asked the privilege of withdrawing from the company. On the morning of the 10th this privilege was granted by a vote of the company.¹ We arrived at Fort Laramie at 12 o'clock June 13th and laid over until the 15th to recruit our teams and lighten up.

Letter No. 2.

Fort Laramie, June 13th, 1850.

Dear Brother:—

Our company had not got together when I wrote my last. [Here follow extracts from the journal]. We have now arrived at Fort Laramie and I hasten to finish this letter to you, if you can call it by that name. We (that is, Dickinson and his wagons and men) left the Fear Not company three

¹Those who here separated from the "Fear Not" company were R. S. Dickinson, wife and child, Josiah Hill, Daniel Carlisle, L. D. Dutton, Jerome Dutton, and one other who cannot be identified.

days before getting here on account of their hard driving as well as some other bad management. We have kept close to them so far by getting started earlier and driving later than they. If that company keeps on the way they have driven so far one half of their cattle will give out before they get to Salt Lake. The feed has been scarce for several days and heavy, sandy roads and hot weather make it hard on the cattle and no mistake. These companies seldom keep together but a very short time. Our two wagons are alone at present, but we can join a company any time we wish. But for my part I prefer going by ourselves. We can get along much better and there is no danger of Indians for we are close to some company every night. I would think by the number of teams on the south side of the river that when we all get together we cannot be alone any of the way.

We had intended to cross the Platte here, but it could not be forded and the ferry boat was sunk the other day by some Californians who were on a spree. The river here is 108 yards wide, runs very swift and is now high. There have been seven men drowned here, I understand, while ferrying themselves across in wagon boxes, etc.

Today I came across the grave of a man from Van Buren County, Iowa, who was killed by his brother-in-law. There were four of them playing cards and drinking and they got into a quarrel which resulted in the death of one. The man who killed him is at the Fort and is not expected to live. He received a dangerous wound from the man that he killed. The balance of them are in the Fort and in irons and will be taken back. This I do not know to be a fact, but presume it is.

Since I left Winter Quarters I have seen seven dead horses and one left behind because it had accidentally been shot through the fore leg, cutting all the sinews and rendering the leg useless. Also one dead ox and three that were left because they were unable to go any farther. There are plenty of others that will not go much farther. Lorenzo and I drive the Widow Knight cattle, a yoke that Ale Dunn got of Snyder.¹ They stand it well, but I see plainly that we have got

¹Simon Snyder, of Allen Grove township, Scott county.

to drive slower. If we get through with one half of our cattle it will be as well as I expect. The old wagon is better than when we started, but I think it quite likely that we shall leave it before long and put the teams all on one wagon. There are plenty of good wagons burned up between here and Winter Quarters, and good wagons that men offer to give away. But when wood is scarce, they generally burn them. We have passed first rate log chains laying beside the road and half worn clothing, bed clothing, saws and a great many things that would be useful any place but this.

We came here from Winter Quarters in 26 days. We laid up just about two days, which leaves 24 days that we drove to get to Fort Laramie. The distance is 522 miles, and I think that is stiff driving for an ox team. Lorenzo has just come up from the ferry and tells me that he saw Davison, so, you see, we have kept up with the horse teams.

The distance from here to Salt Lake is 509 miles, so, you see, we are more than half way there. I will now tell you the reason that letter writers so seldom mention particulars. It is this: They are so busy that they have no time to write anything that can possibly be dispensed with and write at all, and any man that writes a letter on this road deprives himself of rest of which he is much in need. We generally get up about 2 o'clock in the morning and seldom get to bed before 9 o'clock in the evening, and when we are not eating or yoking cattle every step counts one for California. The country from the Missouri here is almost destitute of timber and what we would call brush in our country is timber here, and nothing but cottonwood and willow at that. So, if you hear anybody talking about a railroad to the Pacific, tell them for me that they are crazy. All of our boys are well except "old Mr. Hill." He has been grievously afflicted, has had the ague, the earache, has been sick at the stomach and at present has sore eyes. He wants me to write to Joseph Alger for him, but you may tell Joe that it is not Cy's fault that he don't get a letter.¹

¹A characteristic story of Josiah Hill, in connection with the lynching of Bennet Warren (an event of much celebrity in western Clinton county in 1857), is given on page 442 "History of Clinton County."

I have heard nothing of William Scott and James B. Alger. I want you should write immediately after receiving this. I want to know how you and Doc Witter get along.¹ If he or Dawson had heard themselves cursed as much as I have for sending people over that new road they would feel very much like fighting. I want that you should take out all the letters that come for me, read them, answer them and put them in my box so that I can see them when I get home. You may think that is a great ways ahead, but I feel as though it must not be such a great while. What goes the hardest with me is the total loss of the company of young ladies. I believe if we had a few along I should be at home.

We came through a Sioux village. They are good looking Indians, and there was one young woman, a chief's daughter, that was really good looking. She had her cheeks painted red and wore, in addition to a red blanket, a buckskin dress flowered off with beads. The Sioux are a wealthy tribe and have many ponies.

This will doubtless be the last letter you will get until I get through. There is no opportunity to send letters, as the mail leaves Salt Lake only twice a year, and therefore it will be better for me to wait until I get there before I write. I presume Lorenzo will not write. Give my love to all and tell Father and Charles I would like to write to them but have not time. Tell Cyrus² he must write me at Sacramento City and let me know all about the young folks in Iowa. Tell Rhoda that I hope to meet her husband³ about the first of September and remember me to Aunt and George.⁴ Lorenzo says to tell you that he is well and doing the best he can to get to California, and that when he arrives there he will write.

I was the cook all the way to Council Bluffs, and since Mrs. Dickinson was hurt I have done nearly all the cooking for seven adults and a boy about 3 years old. There is any amount of quarreling on this road, and a great many are dividing their

¹This refers to Dr. Amos Witter, subsequently a member of the Fifth General Assembly from Scott county.

²Cyrus A. Pearsall, brother of William R. Pearsall.

³William R. Pearsall.

⁴Phoebe Pearsall, mother of W. R. and C. A. Pearsall. George was her youngest son. He enlisted and was killed in service during the rebellion.

teams, and many a person have I seen and heard say that if he was back and knew what he knew then he would never start for California. Among this latter class is Dickinson and lady. That, though, is what no one has heard me say.

But I am getting tired sitting here in the wagon with a board on my lap. Yet I can scarcely stop. I see several words badly spelled, but will not bother myself to rectify the errors. So, no more at present.

Respects of your brother,

LeRoy Dutton, Esq.

Jerome Dutton.

Journal.

June 15th: We left Fort Laramie this morning and followed up the north side of the river to cross the Black Hills. This road has been traveled but very little until now, but as the ferry boat was gone we either had to go up on this side or ferry ourselves on a float, and no timber to build it of. We therefore concluded to keep up the north side, and as there have been but few trains up on this side the feed was good until we got up to where the teams from the other side commenced crossing. The upper Platte ferry is 126 miles from Fort Laramie. The game, antelope and mountain sheep, was plenty.

About 15 miles from Fort Laramie we came to a pretty spring that emerged at the foot of a bluff, and after flowing about eight feet, lost itself in the sand. This was a romantic looking place. There were numerous dry creeks, some of them as much as 20 rods wide, and they looked as though they were large rivers in the spring of the year. I think there must be very heavy rains here by the appearance of the bluffs and dry creeks.

June 23rd: This day we got to Independence Rock on the Sweetwater, and laid by one and a half days. We drove our cattle 1 to 2 miles from the road and found just feed enough to keep them alive. This Rock is 698 1-4 miles from Winter Quarters, and is something of a curiosity. It is 600 yards long and 120 wide, and is composed of hard granite. By dint

of good management I got time to ascend this rock and look at the surrounding country. Back east in the direction we came from can be seen the Atlantic spring, its edges white with saleratus, and to the south-west can be seen mountains with here and there a patch of snow. The beautiful Sweetwater can be seen here to advantage, winding its serpentine course in a south-easterly direction to the Platte, into which it empties. How appropriate, after traveling 700 miles up the Platte (the waters of which resemble the Missouri) and then coming on to this beautiful mountain stream, how appropriate, I say, that it should be called "Sweetwater." At the west could be seen the Devil's Gate, 5 miles distant (but it did not look to be a mile). This is a place where the Sweetwater passes through rocks 400 feet high, and as you stand at the edge of the stream on the south side you can see the rock at the top projecting over your head, and it looks as though you could almost jump across from one side to the other. I attempted to go through from the lower side of the gate to the upper, but found I could not get through the Devil's Gate as easily as I expected, as the only chance to pass through was to wade, or perhaps swim, and I decided to back out and not go through his gate until some future period. What is remarkable about these rocks is that they are placed in solid heaps and the country around them is sandy and without a stone.

We traveled up the Sweetwater 100 miles and crossed it five times. The 28th we crossed it twice in order to avoid clambering over the rocks where they came up close to the river. At the lower ford the water was so deep that it rose into the wagon boxes. So we had to carry some of our things up over the rocks to the second crossing to prevent them from getting wet. The balance we put on deck, and in this way we got across with little trouble.

July 1st: This day we passed Pacific Spring (the first water that runs into the Pacific) and crossed a desert 19 miles without water. The first was the Little Sandy, about 4 miles west of the junction of the Salt Lake road with the Oregon

Trail (which is generally called Subblett's Cut-Off). Here we camped one night.

July 2nd: We traveled forward 12 miles to the Big Sandy and laid over until 5 o'clock on the 3rd. We then started and drove all night and until 4 o'clock of the 4th to cross a desert 50 miles wide, which brought us to the ferry on Green river. Here there was a great many teams on either side. We got across at 6 o'clock by swimming our cattle and paying \$7 for ferrying our wagon. We left our cart here. There were several flags flying and a great many guns were fired in honor of the day. I heard some good fiddling and thought several times of sweet home and the merry ones that, no doubt, at that time were "patting it down" to some old favorite air. Here we began to see a great many sick, and there was one death that night. The thermometer in the morning was 4 degrees below freezing, and at 12 o'clock it was up to 95 in the shade. While we were here Daniel Solis, John Turner and Ainsworth came up and went on, and that is the last we have seen or heard of them. They were well. We laid over here the 5th.

We left on the 6th, drove 12 miles and camped on a small branch of Green river. A man had been buried there that day, and there were two other graves that had been made but a short time.

July 7th: We traveled 15 miles today over a sandy and dusty road. We stopped at noon and took our dinner on top of a hill where there was nothing but wild sage, and dust three inches deep. We accidentally spilled some vinegar on the dust, and it foamed up like so much saleratus. And this is what is blowing into your face day after day (and some nights) as regular as the day comes. At night we camped in a very pretty place. Plenty of snow close by us. A funeral ceremony was just concluded as we arrived there.

July 8th: This day we traveled over some very steep mountains and camped over night at Hams Fork. Here the forage began to be more plenty and we came upon the first good grass we had found from a point 25 miles below the upper

Platte ferry without leaving the road from 1 to 5 miles. There were some half-breed Indians here with some very fine horses. We tried to buy one, but their lowest price was \$100 for a horse that had been broken to ride.

July 9th: We arrived at the foot of a mountain and in sight of Bear river after traveling a rough and rocky road over some very steep hills.

July 10th: Today we overtook a company from Missouri, under Captain John E. Develby, with which we had traveled several days in Iowa. I had formed an attachment for some of them, and when we came up they were yet gathered around the grave of a companion whom they had just buried. He was sick but six hours with what is supposed to be the cholera. Directly after leaving them we came to four rushing creeks that all ran down between the points of two mountains that were not more than a quarter of a mile apart. The creeks were all deep and difficult to cross. After crossing the last we had to turn and go down it close to the foot of the mountain, and over large, rough rocks that would jar a wagon to pieces unless it was well put together. There are plenty of dead cattle around, and the smell is strong enough to almost take your breath away. We also passed four new made graves today, and at night camped beside a beautiful little spring creek that ran down from the mountains over riffles close by our tent and made sweet music for us to sleep by.

The 10th, 11th and 12th we continued to keep down the Bear river with very good roads, as a general thing, and grass enough for the whole emigration.

July 13th: Today we came to the Soda, or Copperas springs. The first two were on the bank of a creek close to the river. The water gurgles up with a snapping noise and the first taste resembles soda, but the after taste is more like iron and very disagreeable. A little lower down and directly on the bank of the river is what is called the Steamboat spring. Through a hole in the rock about 18 inches in circumference it gushes up to a height, sometimes, of two feet. It makes

considerable noise and foams something like soda. Like the other springs, it is of very unpleasant taste and smell.

We arrived today at a point where the road forks. One fork, the Oregon road, goes past Fort Hall; the other, Hedgepeth's Cut-Off, is the road we took.

We left Bear river about 2 o'clock, and as we had to go about 15 miles with no water along the road we took in enough to last us until 9 o'clock the next day. We drove about 8 miles and stopped over night. Although there was plenty of good grass there was nothing to make a fire with. Therefore we had to eat a cold lunch for supper and go on in the morning before breakfast, which made it 11 o'clock when we ate. It being Sunday (July 14th) we laid over the balance of the day. There were some half-breed Indians here who had established themselves to trade with the emigrants and buy up broken down cattle at small prices.

We resumed our journey on the 15th and passed four graves all made this month. Above one of them was a headboard with the man's name on it, below which was written a message requesting that if his friends saw it they would please inform his family, as his company had gone on and left him there while yet alive. His name was Dennis, and he was from St. Louis. Another was the grave of a man named W. H. Williams. He had been shot by another member of his company by the name of Hunter, and died a few hours later.

July 16th: We traveled until noon today and then laid by in consequence of sickness. Josiah Hill and Mrs. Dickinson were taken sick. Hill got better and was able to go on, but Mrs. D. was too sick for us to proceed.

July 18th: Today we resumed our journey and traveled most of the day through deep ravines, a little ascending until about 6 o'clock. Then we came to where we descended into a valley. The descent was lengthy, steep and dangerous. Here we had a strip of country 15 miles without water. We had to leave the road three-quarters of a mile to the left. This [road?] was discovered this year and formerly it was 20 miles [to water.] The last water was a big spring, and there were

two tracks, one leading to the right, and the other crossing the creek a half mile below the spring. After crossing the road bore southwest down the creek at a short distance from it. (This is what is generally called Hedgepeth's Cut-Off.)

July 19th: This day we traveled until 10 o'clock through ravines down a creek until we came to where the stream sank in the sand. From here it was 12 miles to water. After climbing a steep bluff (close to the creek) we had a good road, which descended gradually until we arrived at water, three creeks close together.

July 22d: We crossed Raft river near its head where it was quite a small creek. After crossing, the Fort Hall road came into ours. In the forenoon we could see the dust arising from the Salt Lake road.

July 23d: We came to the Salt Lake road, distant between 20 and 25 miles from Raft river.

July 24th: We passed over some rough road and stopped on Goose creek, where we heard that Captain Clapp's Fear Not company were 5 miles behind us. They went past Salt Lake, and had three days the start of us.

July 25th: This morning we resumed our journey up Goose creek, and before leaving it followed it 18 miles from where we first came to it. Here we came to a deep ravine, with a rough and somewhat crooked road for a quarter of a mile at the entrance. After leaving the head of the creek it is 12 miles to water, and very little grass. We camped four miles from the last mentioned water.

July 26th: At about 10 o'clock this morning we came to the Thousand Spring Valley. No grass. For a few miles after entering this valley we followed down it, seeing numerous springs, or wells along the road. They are from three to seven feet deep, some of them cold and good, others warm and laden with alkali. We camped at the lower end of the valley.

July 27th: Though the road was good the grass was poorer than we had along back. We left two big springs today at 5 o'clock, and had to cross a barren district of 9 miles without

water. The Fear Not company caught up with us today and at night we camped close together.

July 28th: We drove about 12 miles and found the road good, with the exception that it was very dusty and included some short, steep pitches that we had to go down. We came to several of the natural wells, some of which contain fish. They are dangerous in consequence of careless horses and cattle falling into them. The country here is rolling, the ravines wide, and grass good in the valleys. Fuel is scarce. Some sage and grease weed.

29th: Arrived at Mary's or Humbolt river. Grass and road good. July 30th, 31st: Kept down Mary's river, with good grass but bad and unclean water. Road good, with the exception of the dust which is from one to four inches deep. Sloughs are plentiful along the river and so mirey that in some places it bothers us to get our cattle on the best grass. We laid up this afternoon.

August 1st: Forded the river 4 times in that number of miles. First three deep; had to raise our wagon boxes 4 to 8 inches to keep our provisions dry. The fords were good; keep well down the middle of the stream in all of them. There was a road that kept down the river on the west side, but it was over mountains and we preferred keeping on the bottom, as the grass was good and road much better than on the west side. We passed two little creeks today and camped on the mountains. No grass nor water. From these creeks it is 8 miles to water and this, I think, not safe to depend on. It was springs, and they ran but a short distance before they sank in the sand. It was 15 miles from the creeks to the river and over rough road, and dusty.

2d: Crossed the river again and came down on the east side. Along here there is a road on both sides. The most of the emigration came the east side. Very dusty either side; barren saleratus land; nothing but greaseweed and wild sage. Good grass close to the river, but very sloughy and bad getting to it. Water bad and getting worse.

3d and 4th: About the same all day. Left an ox today. He swam the river where there was no ford and we left him there.

5th: Today we drove until 12 o'clock, and then joined the Wapello company, Capt. McDaniel [or McDaniels]. Nine wagons in the company when we joined. They were from Iowa, and we had seen them all along the road from the Platte. They went by Salt Lake, and we came in ahead of them. The reason we joined them was this: The Indians were troublesome and we concluded it was not safe to leave our cattle unguarded, and it was too hard for so few of us to guard them. We laid by until 4 o'clock and then drove until 10 o'clock at night over a very rough and rocky road; some places rocks square up and down from 2 to 3 feet.

6th, 7th, 8th and 9th: Still continue down Mary's river. on the south-east side, until the 9th. We then crossed over by ferrying in our wagon boxes and swimming the cattle. Grass hard to be got at because of the many sloughs. We had to build bridges of willow brush to get our cattle across them onto the grass.

10th, 11th and 12th: Travel down Mary's river with grass very scarce, or, in fact, what you may call none, over a complete desert with this exception: We occasionally touched the river for water. We traveled considerably nights. Dusty road, and many dry ruts. We swam our cattle across the river often and some of us swim over after them, and find nothing but willows for them to browse on at that. Great numbers of dead cattle and horses line the road from the crossing place to the Sink.

August 13th: We arrived at the place for making hay this morning. Had to wade in the water and mud (from ankle deep to 2 feet), cut our hay, bind it up some, and "back" it out. Others draw it out with light cattle and wagons, with great difficulty. Grass good, but the ground is so mirey that it is a miserable place to recruit cattle. There was a trading establishment here, kept up by the Mormons.

They sell beef at from 15 to 20 cents per pound, and kill cattle that the emigrants leave. Flour is \$1.50 per pound, sugar \$1.00 per pound, whiskey 50 cents for a little less than a gill. They would not let you drink what you wanted for that. Water bad here. By wading half a mile you can get as good as there is in the river. The wells are brackish.

14th: Laid up to cure our hay until the morning of the 15th. We then moved on down past the Sink and camped on the south-east of the slough. Plenty of stock water here, but none fit for other use.

16th: We started at three o'clock this morning to cross the desert, 40 miles without wood, water or grass. The road was good for the first 25 miles. Here the road commenced being very heavy and sandy. There was plenty of water to be had at the commencement of the sandy road for \$1.00 per gallon. This water they haul 15 miles from Carson river; this is the first water after crossing the desert. There were sights to be seen in crossing this desert. After the first 5 miles you could not get out of sight of dead cattle or horses. Any number of wagons. At one spot I could stand and count 25 in sight. Two-thirds of the emigrants had to leave their wagons and plunder on the last part of this desert and drive their cattle on and grass them and then go back for their wagons. One-half of our company had this to do; the other got through at daylight the morning of the 17th. We were among the forward teams.

There was a large Rag Town on the river where we first came to it and several victualing tents. Their prices were high, viz., 10 cents per pint for coffee, if with sugar, 15 cents; 25 cents per pint for rice soup, 50 cents for a sour pie about the size of your hand, 25 cents for a small biscuit, 50 cents a dram for whiskey, 75 cents ditto for brandy, beef, good for 50 cents per pound, flour \$1.25 per pound. There was no grass nearer than 6 miles from here, but you could get hay for 25 cents per bundle that could be spanned with both hands. It would take a dozen of them to make a feed for a yoke of cattle. We drove 6 miles up Carson's river today and laid by on the 18th.

The 19th we again set out up the river, the road sandy and in many places rough and rocky. Grass tolerably good.

20th, 21st, 22d and until 2 o'clock the 23d we traveled up Carson river. Trading posts plenty for the last 60 miles. They all ask about the same prices as the one where we first touched the river. Passed Warm Springs on the 23d; the water so warm that you could hold your hand in it but for a short time. We arrived at the foot of the Canyon at 2 o'clock the 24th and laid by until morning. The 25th we drove through the Canyon,¹ a distance of 6 miles over as rough and rocky a road as a wagon could pass over. We, however, got along very well. Upset only once, and that did no particular damage. A branch of the Carson river ran through the Canyon. There were mountains on either side, the tops of which nearly touched the clouds. There was some good (pine) timber here, the first we saw that you could call timber after leaving Winter Quarters.

26th: We left the head of the canyon this morning, and crossed the first of the Sierra Nevada mountains. At the foot of this mountain was an iron safe that some emigrant had started with, but when he got here and looked up this mountain I expect he came to the conclusion that he had hauled it far enough, and I think it a wise conclusion. The ascent was steep, rocky and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in length. There were four dead horses in this distance, and we traveled only 6 miles this day.

27th: We crossed the second mountain, or summit of the Sierra Nevada. The road was such as would be considered impassable by anybody but a Californian—rough, rocky and steep, and in addition to this there was snow that we had to go over for half a mile. The snow just at the right of the road was from 10 to 20 feet deep. It was two miles from the foot of the mountain to the summit; very steep in places. When we were on the summit we could look down and see plenty of snow 100 feet below us. There was plenty of the best water I ever drank.

¹An asterisk here refers to a note written on a fly leaf of the journal. This note reads: "Canon, This is a Spanish word, pronounced Kanyon."

28th, 29th & 30th: Traveled these days over rough road and on a dividing ridge. Water scarce and grass more so, and dust ankle deep. Trading posts are plenty.

31st: No feed today. We had to cut down oak trees for our cattle to browse on.

September 1st: Today we arrived at Weaver, the first town that we came to in California. Here we stopped and bought tools and went to mining on Methenis creek, 4 miles south of Weaver. (Here we came across James and Abner Alger.) Our tools cost us \$35. We mined here but a few days. Lorenzo started off to look for a better place and went to the Mormon Island, and here he found William R. Pearsall, mining. He stayed part of a day with him and then came back to the creek and we sold everything except what we could carry and moved to the Island where we arrived on the 11th at 12 o'clock.

[End of the Journal.]

Letter No. 3 is missing. Letter No. 4 follows:

Mormon Island, California, Sept. the 27th, A. D. 1850.

[This letter opens with extracts from the journal from the entry for July 1st to July 14th.]

Dear Brother:—

I find out that my journal will occupy too much space to admit of my writing it in this letter. I will therefore find out what the postage will cost me and if not too much I will write my next in the back part of it and send it to you. We arrived at Weaver, a little town close by the first diggings, on the first day of September. Here Dickinson considered his part of the contract fulfilled. We therefore stopped here, and as a man cannot live idle in California we bought us a full set of mining tools—that is, a pick, shovel, pan, blower, dipper and rocker, for which we paid \$35, and as Hill and Daniel Carlisle were out of funds and wanted to go in with us, we all started together for Methenis creek; 4 miles south of Weaver. Judge of our surprise and joy when, walking down the creek and passing the miners, we came to a hole

and found James Alger sitting on the bank and Abner in the hole—the first we had seen or heard of them after leaving home. They told us that Scott came in with them, but started back on the road the next day with another man. Whether he was going to prospecting or not they did not know. I have left a letter for him at Weaver, but have not heard from him yet. I guess that he and the boys did not agree very well. James and Abner wanted a partner, so we got rid of Uncle Hill. Carlisle and I stayed and dug and Lorenzo went off on a scout to look for better diggings. He went to Mormon Island, and there he found William. He was interested in a dam across the south fork of the American river. He told Lorenzo if we would come down he would buy us a share in the dam. Lorenzo told him we would do so, and came back to where Daniel and I were at work. We sold all of our duds except what we could carry and came down here.

We arrived here on the 11th. William had bought the share for \$700, and let us have it at the same. There are 10 shares in the dam. It therefore takes one of us to work the share and the other works for the company at \$5 per day and boards himself. In this way we have been at work up to this time. We paid \$30 for our share when we came and we have taken out enough, with our work included, to pay for one-half of our share. If the water did not bother so much we could have had the debt paid and money to spare now, but the water has been so high that we have not been able to work in the bed of the river but a few days. We have had several rains since we arrived here. Some think the rainy season has already commenced, and some think it will stay off until the middle of November. If it has commenced we cannot do anything more this year. If it stays off a month or so we shall do well, I think, without a doubt. William owns $1\frac{3}{4}$ shares in the dam. He thinks we will have a month or two of good weather yet, and from appearances it bids fair at present. Daniel Carlisle came down here and worked by the day for the company until the river raised. They did not want him longer, and he started this morning for Deep Creek dry diggings, 65 miles from here. If you get an opportunity let his

wife know that he is well. He is a fine boy and I wish that he was at home, and I guess if he had the money he would go. William will come home this fall or winter. If the weather continues good for a month or two I am in hopes that I will be able to send you a little by him. The gold on Methenis Creek is coarse; that that is taken out of the river here is fine. But you have doubtless seen some of this, as William sent 40 ounces to his wife some time ago. I found a piece on Methenis creek that was worth a dollar.

While we were there we made a little more than enough to pay our way. James, Abner and Josiah have gone to Dry Creek, about 30 miles south of here. Where Dickinson will stop I do not know. His family was in Weaver when we left, and he was out on a trip to find a place where something could be made without work. He is as lazy a man as is now living. There was not a person that came through with him but that hates him now above ground. Along on Hedgepeth's Cut-Off he got an opportunity to sell some flour for 50 cents per pound. That looked so large to him that he sold 50 pounds and thought he would have enough to last through. But it gave out by the time we got to Carson river, and flour was \$1.50 per pound here (and was sold) by Californians that had come out here and started a trading post. It almost killed him to pay that, and he would have been glad to have kept us on half rations if we would have submitted. But we told him he could have his choice; buy us food or we would leave him and buy for ourselves. He concluded to buy, and soon run out of money and had to pawn his watch for the last we got at Leek Springs.¹

I traded my watch for a pony on the road and in a few days sold the pony for \$30 in cash, so Lorenzo and I had about \$5 when we got here. Everything is high here. Flour is worth 16 cents per pound, onions \$1 per pound, potatoes 20 cents per pound, pork 25, beef from 25 to 40 cents, green corn 12 1-2 per ear. You can get most anything you want here if you have plenty of money. We have had a jar of preserves for

¹The ill feeling evinced here and in other places between various members of the party was only temporary. After their return to Iowa friendly relations were soon re-established.

which we paid \$3—2 quarts, and put up in China—a bottle of pickles, 1 quart, \$1.25, put up in Philadelphia and composed of cucumbers, cabbage, onions, muskmelon and small ears of corn, etc.

You want to know what I think of California, no doubt. I am not sorry I came, but at the same time I would not come again in the same way for a clean five thousand. There is something indescribable about the journey here—that, I am well satisfied is, of all journeys, the most tiresome—and I would say to you all: Stay at home if you know when you are well off. A great many are leaving here and going home without trying their luck. (Kirtley is at Sacramento City, and is going in a short time.) Mining here is a perfect lottery. Some do well, but many work hard and get hardly enough to live on, and the miners here are like the farmers in Iowa; by far the poorest class there is here. The man that has money to start with can do better at anything else than mining. A tavern does well, and there are plenty of them. A grocery and gambling house makes money, and the Justice of the Peace in this town sits at his table with a pile of money before him and deals Monte for the bystanders to bet on. The cattle buyers are another class that makes money. Fat cattle sell from \$120 to \$200 per yoke, and from \$50 to \$75 is all that an emigrant can get for them when he first comes in. If he puts them on a ranch it will cost \$4 per month and run his own risk of having them stolen, and that is something of a risk in this country.

We got through with four yoke of cattle, but he (Dickinson) bought one on Mary's river. The black steers that Snyder used to own stood the trip well. The Widow Knight's cattle did well until we got about half way through Hedgepeth's Cut-Off. Here the near one took sick, and we had to leave him. This I hated to do, for I thought more of him than any ox in the team. The off ox was very near worn out, so we drove him loose until we came to Mary's river. He was very dry and jumped down the bank and swam across, and

¹J. W. Kirby, the man referred to, is mentioned on page 540, "History of Clinton County," as one of the earliest settlers of DeWitt township, having settled there in 1836.

we went on and left him there. The near ox that he got of Bennett gave out, and he sold him for \$8 to a trader on Bear river, and this was all the cattle (oxen) he lost. But his cow gave out on Green river. Cattle can stand more hardship than I thought, for there were several days that I did not expect anything else but that we would have to throw our duds away and foot it through. But as good luck would have it we got through with all our clothes, and well.

I lost, from the time I left Kaneshville until I got here, 20 pounds. William is well and is decidedly fat and weighs 165 pounds. The company that left Allen's Grove with us stayed in Clapp's company and went past Salt Lake. At the junction of the Salt Lake road they had three days the start of us, but we were about seven miles ahead of them when the Salt Lake road came into ours, and they all got through about the same time that we did, and are somewhere about Hantown.

A newspaper sells for one dollar here, so you may judge it is very little reading I do. Hay sells for 15 cents per pound; 40 cents per pound for horse feed. There is a good chance for cutting hay here in the spring, but everything is dead and dry now.

Now, remember this: I have been very punctual in writing to you but I have sent to the city for letters but cannot hear anything from you—and you at home and nothing to do but write Sunday. Be sure and write direct to Sacramento City. The reason I have not written before is this: I wanted to get stationery, and after I got here there was no use, for the mail only leaves San Francisco the 1st and 15th of the month, and I was not here in time to send this month. Tell Charles and Father that I don't know as Lorenzo will ever write to them. I have been trying to get him to ever since we came, but cannot. Give my respects to all and a kiss to Wilmet.¹

LeRoy Dutton.

Jerome Dutton.

N. B. Tell C. A. Pearsall to write to me.²

¹His nephew, eldest son of Charles.

²As indicated in this letter, he forwarded his journal by mail to his brother Le Roy Dec. 29th, 1850. The journal had taken up about a third only of the little volume in which it was written, and on some of its unused pages he wrote Letter No. 5. The gold dollar mentioned below is now in the possession of his nephew, H. G. Dutton, a son of Charles Dutton.

Letter No. 5.¹

Natoma, Dec. 28th, 1850.

Dear Brother:—

Sitting by your fireside these long winter evenings with nothing to busy yourself one would think you would write (to your far distant brother) often. Ever since I have been here I have sent to the city every opportunity for letters, but have been disappointed, until last Monday I went to the city and received your No. 1. Many a night have I laid down on the ground with my head to the fire to try to write something that would interest you, but, after all, have received but one letter yet, and I had almost come to the conclusion to write no more.

But the fact of it is I do not have time to write. While we were mining I worked every day, except Sunday, until the 20th of November. We had some rain about this time and the river rose and we had to suspend operations for this year. Lorenzo and the writer had, after working all this time and earning about \$50 by working nights for the company, about \$2.40 between us. That is what we had left after paying for our share in the company. We still own our share and I expect we will work it another year.

If William had gone home I should have sent you \$100, but he concluded to stay, and we all went in together and bought a trading house here and keep a provision and grocery store. We bought two teams. William and myself drive the teams and Lorenzo tends the store. We are 27 miles from the city. We have 5 cents per pound for hauling here. The difficulty is that we cannot get as much hauling as we can do, and when we have to lay idle the teams are a great expense. You may judge for yourself: We pay 8 cents per pound for barley at the city and from 6 to 20 cents per pound for hay. We get it for 6 cents in the city, but at Hangtown, a distance of 50 miles, we have to pay 20 and for hauling to Hangtown

¹Written on a fly leaf of the Journal: "Natoma (this is the Spanish for Mormon Island). I have sealed a gold dollar in the fore part of this book. I want you to give that to father. It is the first I ever saw.—Jerome."

we get from 8 to 10 cents per pound. Business of all kinds is over done here. There are too many stores, too many teams, too many taverns for any of them to make their pile right quick, but I am in hopes that business will be more brisk in the spring. At any rate I think we will do very well. We gave \$600 apiece for our teams, that is, \$1,200 for eight mules and harness and two wagons.

Lorenzo is well; William is also well. I have been well ever since we quit mining. Before that time I was in the water more or less every day, and was quite unwell. Was troubled with the rheumatism so that I could not rest nights, but since we have commenced business I have had good health, and have got fat once more and weigh 182 1-2.

I will now say a few words in relation to the country. We have very pretty weather at present, clear, sunshiny days. cool, frosty nights. The winter is very light so far. Last year at this time the roads were almost impassable in consequence of the heavy rains converting the soil into an ocean of mud.

The country from here to the city is a very pretty country. It is tolerably level, and is nearly all what we would call oak openings, being thinly covered with short, scrubby oaks. The soil I think but little of, being red gravel, and sandy in places. Among the birds of this country is the magpie, a most beautiful bird—and in walking through the timber you frequently see the much famed mistletoe bough growing out of a tree of oak without being grafted; different boughs and different leaves and always green. Among the animals here is the Kiota, a small prairie wolf, the Tarantula, of the spider species, as large as your hand, covered with short hairs and said to be very poisonous. The next, a scorpion, is built similar to a crawfish. They have a stinger in their tail; they grasp their prey in their claws and then throw their tail forward and sting, and are very poisonous.

There are several tavern keepers here who are sowing barley on the road, and a good many are going into it quite ex-

tensively, but I have my doubts about their raising much of a crop without irrigating the ground.

Now, one word in relation to emigrating here. Say to all of my friends: Stay at home. Tell my enemies to come. I would not want a worse punishment inflicted on any person on earth than to have to come here across the plains, and it is the worst place to spoil a young man in the world. In Sacramento City there are no less than four long gambling houses that have four musicians hired to play every night. In one they have four singers, two women and two men that sing at intervals every night. In addition to this you can sit down to a gaming table beside a lady and do your betting, and you know this is a temptation hard to resist. I have seen women take their seat at a Monte table and bet their ounce on a single card as cool as I would pay two bits for a card of ginger bread.

Tell friend George Atherton by all means to stay where he is, but if he will come, come by water. If I had time I would write how a man should rig himself to come, as I am confident that if I had it to do over I could come more comfortably.

R. S. Dickinson is in the city keeping tavern. Scott I have not seen nor heard from. I wish you would let me know where he is, if he has written home. James, Abner and Josiah are still on Methenis creek. We got a letter from James. They were well. Josiah had killed two black tailed deer.

Stewart, poor fellow, was unfortunate. If you see him give him my respects. Tell him he must write to me. I wrote to him at the Bluffs, but have received no answer. I was glad to hear that Cyrus and Richard are coming out and I wish them good luck in their undertakings.

But I am so confused that I can scarcely write, writing in our store on the head of a barrel. Some are talking about coming around the Horn, some are playing cards, and one has just "hollered," "High, Jack, Game," and all this on Sunday! This is the busiest day of the week. Let me know how you manage my affairs, that note of Rogers, for instance.

Lorenzo says he will write before long. He did not like William Wicks manouvering very well. Let me know if there were any letters came for me, and who lives on the Wicks place. If you could make a good trade—my farm for the Buena Vista place (Buena Vista Ferry) do so. There was a man offered me \$500 for my place and he had never seen it, but had been through the country and knows what it is. But I think more of my place than when I was there.

But I will draw to a close, and will try to write oftener. Then I shall not have to write so long.

Give my respects to all.

LEROY DUTTON.

JEROME DUTTON.

End.

WILLIAM FLETCHER KING.¹

BY ROLLO F. HURLBURT, D. D.,

Pastor First Methodist Episcopal Church, Iowa City, Iowa.

When Charles II of England visited the Westminster school under the headship of the famous Richard Busby, the great Master did not take off his hat in the presence of his monarch, lest to remove it before his scholars might lower their opinion of the rank and dignity of the teacher's high calling. Whereupon the King frankly confessed that the teacher there out-ranked the King.

In the realm of Brain Power and Heart Power, the real King of the 17th century in English History was not Charles the Second, but Richard Busby. For the greatest masters in English Literature and the most illustrious men in Church and in State of that period, were trained in Westminster school under the remarkable tutelage of Richard Busby.

The class-room of the Teacher continues to be the commanding source of greatest power and of widest influence. It has well been said that institutions are but the lengthened shadows of the men who originate them. The visible and tangible results that have come from the consecrated life of him in whose honor we are assembled to-night, show how large a place he has made for himself in the educational history of the State of Iowa.

William Fletcher King came to Iowa in 1862, and began his educational work in that year in this State as the Professor of Ancient Languages in Cornell College. In 1863 he

¹An address delivered in the Art Gallery of the Historical Department of Iowa, on the installation of a portrait of Dr. King, by Ralph Clarkson, June 16, 1910.

was made the Acting President of the institution. And in the following year, 1864, he was elected to the Presidency of Cornell College, continuing in this office for a period of 44 years, until his resignation in 1908.

It is the present good fortune of the institution, of which he so long held the honored headship, to have him still connected with it as President Emeritus and as a member of the Board of Trustees, in which positions the college still continues to have the benefit of his wise planning and helpful counsel.

It was said of the beneficent reign of the Emperor Augustus, that he found Rome built of brick, but that he left it built of marble. Such figure of speech is suggestive of the transformation wrought in Cornell College during Dr. King's administration.

A half century ago Iowa's natural resources were largely undeveloped and yielded but little of the later remarkable richness of her varied products. Much of the best farming land of the State was still the undisturbed, virgin prairie soil. Its pioneer people had great wealth of heart but little wealth of purse. The schools of those days shared in the general poverty of the times. Sacrifices in christian giving were no doubt greater then than they are now. But even gifts that were fully commensurate with the ability of the donors, could accomplish but little in the way of establishing and maintaining schools and colleges.

All this in the local environment of the times shows some of the peculiar difficulties that faced this pioneer College President in Iowa. When we compare what Cornell College was in 1863 with what it was at the close of Dr. King's administration in 1908, we may learn something of the remarkable growth of the institution under his guiding hand. The College catalogue of 1863 shows a total enrollment of only 266, forty names appearing in the list of college students, while 53 were in the primary department, leaving 173 preparatory students.

The faculty consisted of the President, two professors, two lady teachers, one music teacher, and two teachers in the primary department, which was maintained for the benefit of the small children living in Mount Vernon.

In 1908 Cornell's student enrollment was as follows: Graduate students, 6; College, 402; Academy and special, 347; total, 755.

The faculty in 1908 numbered 39, of whom 22 were regular professors.

In 1863 there were two buildings. In 1908 there were seven. In the former year the campus was fifteen acres in extent. In the latter year it was sixty acres in extent.

In 1863 the assets of the College outside of buildings and grounds were less than \$50,000. In 1908 they were over \$500,000.

In 1863 there was a total in the Alumni of 21. In 1908 the quinquennial catalogue listed 1,244 graduates in the regular courses. Of all these graduates over 1,200 have their diplomas signed by President King. His name is also signed to many diplomas issued by the schools of music, art and oratory.

In 1863 there was but one in the graduating class. In 1908 there were 59.

But the mere comparison of statistics by no means reveals all the facts. Buildings were erected, and extensive additions were made to apparatus, museum and library. Methods of instruction were greatly improved and facilities to students were multiplied, while the expenses were kept at the same time within reasonable limits.

In raising the money for the erection of buildings, in deciding upon plans, in letting contracts, and in seeing that they were carried out, he has shown great business and executive ability. He has been unceasingly industrious and those who have known his unresting activity can fully appreciate that dictum of another great College President, Dr. Francis Wayland of Brown, that "nothing can stand against days' works." He has been a master of details, a good judge of human na-

ture, rarely making a mistake in deciding upon one's ability or aptitude for the performance of any duty or line of work.

He has shown through all the years of his administration a great talent for securing harmony and co-operation, and through the exercise of a sound judgment has avoided difficulties, which many other men would not have foreseen.

He has evinced the utmost devotion to the college, giving undivided attention to its interests. He has shown carefulness and great wisdom in the selection of teachers; prudence and caution in financial management; the faculty of commanding the support of successful and sagacious business men, who have done much for the college; a cultivated taste, which is indicated by the appearance of the buildings and grounds; a continual insistence upon high intellectual and moral standards, and a determination to make the school such that all coming within its influence would be earnest and enthusiastic in its support.

He has shown himself to be a master of style in literary composition. His Baccalaureate sermons and public addresses have been models of concise expression and luminous statement. It is to be hoped that these will eventually be gathered into a volume and published.

His early life was on a farm where he had a rigid training in habits of work and self-denial. Graduating from the Ohio Wesleyan University under the Presidency of Dr. Edward Thompson, afterward a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he often spoke of the great inspiration which that man's noble life and splendid example had been to him. He thus began his life's work with a strong body as well as with a well-trained mind.

Although Dr. King was thoroughly devoted to the continuous advancement of the institution which he served, he nevertheless found time for many other and varied interests and engagements. Throughout his long career as an Iowa educator, he was a recognized leader in the councils of the State Teachers' Association, and served as its President in

1885. He was for many years a member of the Educational Council of the National Educational Association. He was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison as one of the Iowa State Commissioners at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.

He served as delegate from the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the General Conferences of 1876, 1888, 1896, 1904 and 1908. In the General Conference of 1896, which met in Cleveland, Ohio, he was chosen as the chairman of the committee on Education, one of the most important committees in the greatest deliberative and legislative body of Methodism.

Dr. King has given not only the service of his life to the college, with which he has been so long associated, but he has given his means as well. He gave fifty thousand dollars to endow the Lucy King Professorship in memory of an only child of unusual beauty and promise, whose early translation filled many hearts with sorrow. At the Semi-Centennial celebration of the College in June, 1904, he gave, in memory of his sainted wife, one hundred thousand dollars to endow one hundred free scholarships in the College, one for every county in Iowa and two for Kossuth county, the largest county in the State.

The College has thus grown and prospered, because it has been nurtured by his prayers, and given the love and devotion of his heart.

This address would not be complete without reference to his religious life.

As a student under him in college and afterwards as his pastor, I came to know him well. A number of years ago when I was his pastor, he came home once from one of his long hard trips for the College not only completely exhausted, but ill. When I called upon him, he was in an unusually tender mood, and reminiscent. He said that he believed profoundly in that teaching of Horace Bushnell that every man's life is a plan of God; that Abraham was girded for a par-

ticular work and mission, in what was termed his call; that Joseph in Egypt distinguished the girding of God's hand; that Moses and Samuel were even called by name; that the humblest and commonest have a place and a work assigned them in the same manner; that God has a definite life-plan for every human person, girding him, visibly or invisibly, for some exact thing, which it will be the true significance and glory of his life to have accomplished.

He spoke of his love for the College, and his strong desire to see his cherished plans for it fulfilled, before he should be called away.

He continued: "I have been very near death several times in my life, and I have been so remarkably preserved in every instance, that I have made up my mind that I am not to be taken away until God's plan has been fulfilled in my life. When I was a very young child, my father was chopping down a large hickory tree near the cabin where we lived. As the tree began to fall, he saw me step out from behind another tree right into the path of the falling tree. He tried to rush in to get me out, but found that he could not except at the risk of his own life. After the tree had fallen he began to search for me, fully expecting to find me dead. He found me in the large fork of the tree pressed down to the ground under a lot of small branches and twigs, badly scratched, benumbed and unconscious, but not vitally injured.

"A few months afterward my father and mother, and I with them, were crossing the Potomac River, somewhere between Washington and Cumberland, in a carriage, in the twilight of the evening. Father thought he knew the ford. But since he had been there changes had occurred. The carriage got fast. The horse floundered there in the middle of the river for a long time. The water overflowed the carriage, mother holding on to me, with the expectation that we would all be drowned. After a long struggle the horse got his footing and pulled the carriage out. When father got to the other side he found at the hotel that he had gotten into some cribs of the

new bridge, that had just been started, and the wonder to everybody was that the horse ever got us through alive.

“One vacation when I was home from college, I was helping my father stack some hay. We saw a small cloud hanging over one of the hills of our farm. As I was handing him a forkful of hay I saw a flash of lightning come down from the cloud and divide into two forks, one fork going to a sugar-tree on a hill one-third of a mile away, and the other coming to us. I saw it playing on the tines of the pitch fork I was holding very perceptibly, which was the last thing of which I was conscious. It knocked us all down, father on the stack of hay, I on the wagon and the horses on the ground. When we regained consciousness and looked over to the sugar-tree on the hill, we saw that the tree was on fire.

“During another summer vacation I started out one evening to ride a colt, that was supposed to be gentle. Before I had ridden far, he became suddenly unmanageable. He threw me over his head, and then with one foot hanging in the stirrup he left the road and dragged me in an unconscious condition through the edge of a forest over logs and rocks and through the brush. After running for a quarter of a mile through the edge of the wood, he returned to the road, where in some way my foot was released from the stirrup. I was very severely injured, and confined to the house for six weeks. My parents and the neighbors all marveled at my escape from death.

“When coming home from California at one time and on a night train a band of highwaymen took out two rails of the road within a few rods of Cape Horn, one of the most dangerous precipices on the line. The train was derailed, but did not leave the ties. Thus awakened we found that the robbers were trying to get control of the engineer and fireman and rob the train. For some unaccountable reason they became frightened and ran off into the woods without accomplishing their purpose, and leaving behind them thirty-nine packages of giant powder and dynamite and other equipments.

"I was once ship-wrecked in the Mediterranean, the vessel being guided by a pilot and captain, who were unfamiliar with the coast. When within sight of Athens, and at about eight o'clock in the evening, we ran aground near the shore with such force that the vessel was almost wrenched in pieces. We were all taken on board another vessel and brought into the port of Piraeus. While standing on the Acropolis in Athens a week afterward I saw the wreck of the vessel from which we had been rescued.

"Do you wonder," he said in a subdued tone, "that I should feel that God has thus repeatedly delivered me from death, because he must have some plans in my life that have not yet been worked out for the good of the world?"

Dr. King has placed in the Library Building of Cornell College several beautiful gifts of statuary in bronze and in marble. These silent monitors will continue to speak of him who placed them there, and will teach their lessons in art through coming years. But far outlasting bronze and marble will be the lesson of his own consecrated and self-sacrificing life.

As Daniel Webster once said: "If we work upon marble, it will perish. If we work upon brass, time will efface it. If we rear temples, they will crumble into dust. But if we work upon immortal minds, if we imbue them with principles—with the just fear of God and our fellow men—we engrave on those tablets something which will brighten to all eternity."

The Historical Department of Iowa, in whose archives are preserved the permanent records of our State history, is one of the most important institutions in the commonwealth of Iowa. And it seems particularly appropriate that, as far as possible, these Iowa historical records should be illustrated by the portraits of her most distinguished citizens. Here have already been gathered the portraits of more than one hundred of Iowa's illustrious men and women: famous soldiers, conspicuous statesmen, eminent publicists, noted judges, well-known ministers, leading philanthropists, and celebrated educators.

It is eminently fitting that there should be added to this number the portrait of one who has been a citizen of prominence, and an educator in the forefront of his profession in this State now for a period of forty-eight years.

Walter Scott, in one of his greatest novels, has described Old Mortality as going through the cemeteries of Scotland and chiseling anew upon the tombstones those names, which the passage of time and the flight of the years had well-nigh obliterated. The good old man was asked to explain why he was so desirous of having these worthies of the past commemorated. He replied that he wished to see the heroes of yesterday march forward side by side with the youth of to-day.

So this gallery of portraits in this State Historical Building will ever keep green the many noble qualities of character possessed by those whom it calls to remembrance, and will ever teach and will perpetually illustrate the lessons of patriotism, devotion and self-sacrifice.

In the name of Cornell-College, and in the name of the multitude of the warm personal friends of William Fletcher King to be found throughout the world, I present to the State of Iowa this portrait as a true and most excellent likeness of one of her noblest and worthiest men.



MARY QUEAL BEYER.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FRENCH FAMILY.¹

BY MARY QUEAL BEYER.

There are two kinds of people in every family, those who are interested in the genealogy of the family and those who are not. I belong to the former class. I have searched diligently for facts which might add to those already in my possession in regard to the French family, to which I belong, and in a measure have been successful. Some of my information has come down to me as a heritage from past generations, by tradition, from newspaper accounts, and some I have gathered from old letters which are indeed links in a chain binding us to the past. I have been through the cemeteries of the east, stood by the graves of my ancestors and visited the houses they occupied, feeling that I was on sacred ground. I have searched the histories of Cambridge, Billerica and Dunstable, Mass., for knowledge of this family, and I hope what I have compiled will be of value and help to others. None of us wish to be forgotten, and it is right we should ever hold in remembrance those who have gone before. It behooves those of us who are here, and those who are to come after, to do our best, and thus make our part of history what it should be.

First Generation.

Thomas French, the elder, of Weathersfield, County Essex, England, died 1599. In his will mentions wife Bridget, three children, and grandson, John, son of Thomas, and gives to poor of Halstead, Essex; of West Wratting, Cambridge, Snettisham, Norfolk; Little Birdfield and Arkesden, Essex.

¹All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from Fox, "History of the Old Township of Dunstable."

- I. Thomas, m. Anne.
- II. Mary, m. John Collin.
- III. Elizabeth, m. John Meade.

Second Generation.

Thomas² French, (*Thomas*¹) of Halstead, County Essex, died Jan. 27, 1613, leaving wife, Anne, six sons and several daughters.

- I. Thomas, m. a Miss Wood.
- II. John.
- III. Edward.
- IV. Robert.
- V. William.
- VI. Francis, and several daughters.

Third Generation.

Thomas³ French, (*Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹) of Halstead, County Essex, married a daughter of Wood.

- I. William, b. Mar. 15, 1603, m. Elizabeth.
- II. Francis, bap. June 29, 1606.
- III. Jerrymya, bap. Nov. 21, 1607.

Fourth Generation.

His son, Lieut. William⁴ French (*Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹) came from England in the ship "Defence" commanded by Thomas Bostacke of London, in October, 1635. With him were many who were afterwards inhabitants of Cambridge, among them being Harlakenden and Shepard. Harlakenden was a prominent man in Cambridge. John Shepard became their pastor. Among the reasons which swayed him to come to New England, Mr. Shepard in his Autobiography gives the following:

Divers people in Old England of my dear friends desired me to go to New England there to live together, and I saw divers families of my Christian friends who were resolved thither to go with me. Accordingly in the beginning of the winter 1634 we started. (They embarked at Harwick.) We were driven back by stress of weather and the voyage was abandoned. But about August 10, 1635, we

again embarked in the ship "Defence" and so the Lord after many sad storms and wearisome days and many longings to see the shore brought us to the sight of it upon October 2, 1635, and upon Oct. 3, we landed at Boston.

Rev. Hooker's company (who had preceded them) were removing to Hartford, and they occupied their lands and houses, which Mr. Shepard bought. William French was born in Halstead, Essex county, England, March 15, 1603. He married Elizabeth about 1623. She died March 31, 1668. The children of William and Elizabeth French were:

I. Francis, born in England about 1624. Came with his father in the "Defence;" removed to Milford, Conn. about 1650, and four years later was one of the first settlers in Derby, Conn. He married April 10, 1661, Lydia Bonnell, of Milford, and died Feb. 14, 1681. His widow died April 1, 1708. They had nine children.

II. Elizabeth, born in England, 1629, married Robert Ellis of Dedham.

III. Mary, born in England, 1633, baptized in England between two and three years of age, at her father's joyning. Married Nathaniel Dunker.

IV. John, born in England, 1635. Married first, June 21, 1659, Abigail Coggan, daughter of Henry of Barnstable; she died April 5, 1662, and he married second, July 3, 1663, Hannah Burrage, daughter of John of Charlestown; she died July 7, 1667, and he married third, January 14, 1668, Mary Rogers, daughter of John; she died June 16, 1677, and he married fourth, Jan. 16, 1677-8 (?), Mary, probably daughter of Francis Littlefield of Woburn, and widow of John Kittredge of Billerica; she died in 1719. He died October, 1712. He was a corporal in the militia; wounded by the Indians in assault at Quaboag in 1675. He was often in the town's service. He was the father of nine children; the oldest, Hannah, born in Billerica, Jan. 20, 1644, married Aug. 3, 1685, to John Kittredge, and had five children, being the progenitor of a long line of medical men through her sons John and Jacob. Simeon, the grandson of John, was the father of eight sons, all physicians.

V. Sarah, b. 1638; d. young.

VI. Jacob, born at Cambridge, March 16, 1640; lived in Billerica on the "east road" near his brother John's. His house was one of the "garrisons" of 1675, and was probably the same venerable brick-lined building which was occupied by James Fletcher in 1875, a cut of which is given in Hazen's "History of Billerica." He was a sergeant in the militia. He married first, Sept. 20, 1665, Mary Champney, daughter of Richard Champney, ruling elder of Cambridge Church. She died April 1, 1681, and he married second, July 30, 1685, Mary Convers of Woburn, who died June 18, 1686, and he married third, Mary ———, who was drowned June 9, 1709. He married fourth, Ruth ———, who died Nov. 6, 1730. He died May 20, 1713. He was the father of ten children.

VII. Hannah, born April 12, 1641; died June 20, 1642.

VIII. Hannah, second, born Feb. 16, 1644; married John Brackett, Sept. 6, 1661; had nine children; died May 9, 1674.

IX. Samuel, born Dec. 3, 1645; died July 15, 1646.

X. Samuel, second, born about 1648, married Sarah Cummings. The date of his death or that of his wife is not known.

XI. Mary, second, born April 3, 1670; married Nathaniel Dunklin.

XII. Sarah, second, born Oct. 29, 1671; married Joseph Crosby of Billerica, May 6, 1691. Had twelve children.

XIII. Abigail, born April 14, 1673; died April 13, 1674.

XIV. Hannah, third, born Jan. 25, 1676; married John Childs of Watertown.

Four of the children were born in England. He had ten children by his first wife.

May 6, 1669, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Lathrop and widow of John Stearns of Billerica, and by her had four children. He died Nov. 20, 1681, aged 78 years.

He was a tailor by trade and was lieutenant in the militia and afterwards made captain. He settled in Cambridge and resided on the westerly side of Dunster Street, about midway

between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn Street, which estate he bought in 1639 and sold to William Barrett, June 10, 1656.

About 1653 he moved to Billerica. He was chosen to sit in the Deacon's seat in 1659; commissioner to establish the country rates the same year; one of the first selectmen, 1660, and served nine years; committee to examine children and servants in reading, religion and catechism in 1661. He was one of the original proprietors and earliest settlers of Billerica, and was the first deputy or representative of that town in general court at Boston in 1660. Evidence of his activity in the cause of Indian instruction is found in a letter written by him to his "godly friend" in England, published in London in the famous tract, "Strength out of weakness," and afterwards re-published in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections¹ in which he gives a detailed account of the testimony of an Indian convert. The tract was "printed by M. Simons for John Blague and Samuel Howes and to be sold at their shop in Pope's Head Alley" in 1652. He writes to his "godly friend:"

The best news I can write from New England is, the Lord is indeed converting the Indians and for the refreshment of your heart and the hearts of all godly with you I have sent you the relation of one Indian of two years' profession that I took from his own mouth by an interpreter because he cannot speak or understand one word of English.

Part of his will copied from the original at Cambridge is as follows:

Estate to be divided to ye widdow one third part of ye whole, and to ye three children, ye remainder $\frac{2}{3}$ eqeally.

The widow $\frac{1}{3}$ part.....	60£-14-10
Mary ffrench	40£-10-0
Sarah	40£-10-0
Hannah	40£-10-0

182£-04-10

¹3d Ser., Vol. IV, pp. 149-196.

Mary ye eldest daughter of the homestead 22 A of upland, lowland and swamp land, with half ye dwelling house and half ye barn (the east end of both.) Also lands 80£ 20s. and debts amounting to 40£-10 (witness.)

MARY CROSBY,

MARY DUNKLIN,

HANNAH CHILD X (her mark).

Part of deed—Know ye that I, Wm. French of Cambridge in the Co. of Middlesex in New England, Taylor, ffor and in consideration of fifty pounds sterling (etc.) . . . my now mansion house scittuated in Cambridge before named.

1656 William French—and a seale.

Elizabeth " her X mark and a seale annexed.

Deed was acknowledged by Wm. French and Elizabeth his wife xth of 4th mo. 1656. (He writes his name Lt. Wm. ffrench.)

He also made a deed of land sold in Billerica to John Parker, in which he speaks of Elizabeth, his beloved wife.

Fifth Generation.

Samuel⁵ French (William,⁴ Thomas,³ Thomas,² Thomas¹), the tenth child of William and Elizabeth French was born in Cambridge, Mass., about 1648. He removed to Billerica and thence to Dunstable. He married Sarah, daughter of John Cummings, Sen., Dec. 24, 1682. She was born Jan. 27, 1661. The following are the children of Samuel and Sarah (Cummings) French:

I. Sarah, b. Feb. 7, 1684.

II. Samuel, b. Sept. 10, 1685; d. Nov. 4, 1727.

III. Joseph, b. March 10, 1687.

IV. John, b. May 6, 1691.

V. Ebenezer, b. April 7, 1693; killed by Indians Sept. 5, 1724, at Naticook Brook, N. H. Had a son Ebenezer, born Oct. 27, 1723.

VI. Richard, b. April 8, 1695.

VII. Alice, b. Nov. 20, 1698.

VIII. Jonathan, b. Feb. 1, 1704.

Samuel moved with his father to Billerica and thence to Dunstable, being one of the pioneers of that town. His name appears as one of the members of the church in that place on the occasion of the building of a new church. From the "History of Dunstable" we learn that "Deacon French who came from Billerica to Dunstable and built the house still standing close to the state line, was probably the first inn-keeper of the town and at the town meeting held May 23, 1732, among other bills, the following appears, and by vote of the meeting was allowed and ordered paid to the heirs:

The town of Dunstable, Dr. to Samuel French, dec'd.	
1725 to dining the selectmen and meals....	£0- 8-0
1726 in dining the selectmen, 6 and meals..	0- 6-0
for Rhum and Cyder had for selectmen at	
Wm. Frenchs	0-12-6
Going about to take the invoice 4 days	-16-0
	<hr/>
Total	£ 2- 2-6

The first church of Dunstable was composed of seven members, one of them being Samuel French, who is mentioned as head of family, and contributed to "wood rate" (salary of preacher) £17-2-2, and 19 cords of wood. Samuel French, who helped form garrisons, was one of the soldiers stationed at Queens Garrisons for protection against Indian attacks, for Dunstable, being an outlying frontier in the wilderness, was peculiarly exposed to the Indians, the Wamesit Indians being on the east, and the Pennacooks on the north. Most of the inhabitants left the town and went to Concord, Billerica and Boston. In 1684 a new meeting house was built and the church reorganized, consisting of six men, one of them Samuel French. Samuel's son John was the father of Ebenezer French of Revolutionary memory.

During King William's war in 1689, an attack on Dunstable was intended, but was averted by information given by two friendly Indians, and companies were sent in defense of the town. On the evening of Sept. 2, 1691, the Indians suddenly appeared and murdered five inhabitants of Dun-

stable and on the 28th, two more. In April, 1697, the celebrated heroine, Mrs. Hannah Dustin, on her way to Boston from Contocook, N. H., where she had, with Mary Neff and a boy, taken the scalps of ten Indians, passed through the town in a canoe. She was the woman who was taken captive at Haverhill, Mass., and escaped by killing her captors at the mouth of the Contocook River in Concord, N. H. This was considered one of the most remarkable and heroic exploits on record.

In point of population, Dunstable was at this time the smallest town in the province, and but for the indomitable perseverance and courage of Maj. Jonathan Tyng, Lieut. Samuel French and three others, must have been again abandoned.

Another garrison was established for the defense of Dunstable and manned Dec. 25, 1702, by a company of soldiers one of whom was Samuel French. On the night of the 3d of July, 1706, a party of 270 Mohawk Indians suddenly assaulted a garrison house in which Capt. Pearson of Rowley and 20 of his troopers, who had been ranging the woods, were posted. The company was taken by surprise, for the door had been left open and no watch appointed. Mr. and Mrs. Cummings had gone out to milk; Mrs. Cummings was shot dead, and her husband shot through the arm but escaped to the woods. After a bloody fight they retreated. This was the garrison house of John Cummings where Samuel French and his family were garrisoned. The few families lived in garrison houses; that is, houses surrounded with palisades, or a wall of stone or timber rising to the roof. Through this wall there was a gate made of plank and secured with iron bolts. Port holes were made in various places, and the underbrush was cleared away from the vicinity of the garrison in order that the approach of the enemy might be seen. Those were terrible times, but peace was at length insured by the treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713, the doors of the garrisons of Dunstable were thrown open and general prosperity began. Hostilities were again resumed in 1724—during which time Lieut. Ebenezer French, son of Samuel French, was killed by the Indians. Eight of the dead were buried in one grave, among them Ebenezer French.



John French house, Dunstable, Mass. Built about 1720.

Their gravestone, which still stands, is marked "*Memento Mori*. Here lies the body of Mr. Thomas Lund who departed this life Sept. 5, 1724, in the 42d year of his age. This man with seven more that lies in this grave was slew all in a day by the Indians."

In the adventures of the French War in 1775, in which John Stark commenced his career in connection with the men of Dunstable, the names of Lovewell, Blanchard, French, etc., are prominent.

There are five Frenches mentioned in the battle of Bunker Hill, Eleazer, who had an arm shot off, picked it up and bore it as a trophy from the field; and Samuel, Jonathan, William and Jonas, brothers of another family, did good service on that eventful day. The former discharged his gun with deliberate aim sixteen times. He was a shoemaker by trade, served through the war and died at Dunstable at an advanced age. Lieut. Ebenezer French, son of Samuel,³ was also at Bunker Hill. His bullet moulds which are of brass and will form 24 bullets of different sizes at one casting, the camp kettle and musket, are in the possession of Wm. L. French of Dunstable.

The house at Dunstable, built by John French, son of Samuel French, contained about five rooms. Only the frame of the original structure remains, having been reroofed and patched up with old boards. This house was built on land deeded to John French by his father, Samuel French.

We find interesting accounts of some customs of Dunstable at that time. Dancing at weddings was forbidden. In 1666 William Walker was imprisoned a month "for courting a maid without the leave of her parents." In 1675 "there is manifest pride appearing in our streets" and also "superstitious ribbands used to tie up and decorate the hair." These things were forbidden under severe penalties; the men were forbidden to "keep Christmas" because it was a "Popish custom."

Samuel French died about 1729 or 1730.

Sixth Generation.

Joseph⁶ French (*Samuel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), third son of Samuel and Sarah (Cummings) French, was born in Dunstable, March 10, 1687. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Cummings, Jr. She was born March 10, 1687. Their children were:

- I. (Capt.) Joseph, b. July 28, 1713; d. April 21, 1776.
- II. Elizabeth, b. 1715.
- III. Sampson, b. July 28, 1717.
- IV. Josiah, b. Feb. 24, 1723; d. Jan. 28, 1742.
- V. Thomas, b. June 29, 1724.
- VI. Benjamin, b. July 6, 1726.
- VII. Samuel, b. July 14, 1728; d. Jan. 11, 1730.
- VIII. Samuel 2d, b. Aug. 10, 1730.

Tradition speaks of two other sons, David and Ebenezer, the latter of whom, according to the tradition, kept a tavern in the valley of the Merrimac, and while trading with the Indians for furs, upon refusing them more rum when they had already drunk freely, was murdered by them.

It was Elizabeth (Cummings) French's grandmother, Hannah (Kingsley) Cummings, who was killed by the Indians July 3, 1706. She was known as "Goody" Cummings.

Col. Joseph French's house was eight rods north of the state line after the change in the boundary lines. He owned a large tract of land consisting of 500 or more acres.

May 20, 1725, the following petition was addressed to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts:

The Petition of the Selectmen of Dunstable Humbly Sheweth: That whereas your Honors hath found it necessary to order Col. Tyng and his men into the woods, on the sad occasion of Capt. Lovewell's defeat, we are extremely exposed and weak, by reason of so many of our fighting men being cut off last summer, and so many killed now in the Province's service. We would beg leave to represent to your Honors our case as very sad and distressing having so many soldiers drawn out, and our inhabitants reduced to so small a number by the war. Several families have removed, and more are under such discouragement, not daring to carry on their planting or any other business, that they fully design it. We hope your

Honors will take our deplorable circumstances into your compassionate consideration, and order such measures to be taken for our defence and support, until our men return, as you in your wisdom shall think fit. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound will, ever pray.

SAMUEL FRENCH,	}	Selectmen.
JOSEPH SNOW,		
JOSEPH FRENCH,		
JOHN LOVEWELL,		
JOHN FRENCH,		
JOHN CUMMINGS,		
JOHN CUMMINGS, JR.		
NATH'L CUMMINGS,		
JONATHAN CUMMINGS,		
JONATHAN COMBS.		

John Lovewell also sent in a petition at the same time for help to defend his garrison or he must leave it to the enemy. The petitions were granted. A guard of twenty-five soldiers was posted in town. Companies of scouts scoured the villages the whole summer and autumn, but no enemy appeared. With Joseph, a Mohawk, as a guide, and Nessa Gawney for an interpreter, they ranged as far as Pennacook, but except killing a moose and a bear between Dunstable and Pennacook, they found nothing.

Joseph French was on March 31, 1719, chosen to make coffins "where there be need for the year ensuing." Friendly Indians still lived here and this singular vote may have referred to them, as we find a charge made by him not long after "for Jacob Indians coffin 7s."

The selectmen and other persons in the employment of the town at this period charged 5s per day for their services.

Joseph French died intestate, leaving a large estate to be divided among his children.

Seventh Generation.

"January 16, 1717, voted in Dunstable that Henry Farwell and Sarg't. Cummings are to endeavor to get a minister as soon as they can, and see after Mr. Weld's place (the old parsonage) to buy it if it be to be had. Also Joseph French was to entertain the minister." French lived at the first house on the main road northerly of the state line.

This is where Sampson⁷ French, (*Joseph,⁶ Samuel,⁵ William,⁴ Thomas,³ Thomas,² Thomas¹*), was born July 28, 1717. I have found but little pertaining to his history. He married and had five sons, Sampson French, Jr., being born Sept. 15, 1742. His other sons were David, Jonathan, Aaron and Daniel. His wife died in 1743 and he remarried.

In 1768 he moved with his family to Southwick, Mass., and died there in 1785, aged 68 years.

Eighth Generation.

Sampson⁸ French, Jr., (*Sampson,⁷ Joseph,⁶ Samuel,⁵ William,⁴ Thomas,³ Thomas,² Thomas¹*), was born in Dunstable, Mass., Sept. 15, 1742. He married Lusannah Root, who was born in September, 1752. I copy from a letter received from my cousin's wife, Mrs. Seward French, of Binghamton, N. Y., the following:

"We have recently visited the graves of Seward's great-great-grandfather, Samson French, and his wife, who are buried at Wilcox cemetery. Her name is spelt 'Lusannah' on the stone, a very plain 'L', instead of Susannah as we had all supposed." Upon receipt of this letter I looked at "A Catalogue of the Descendants of Samson and Lusannah French" and found that the name I had always read as Susannah was indeed Lusannah. I also made another discovery, that the name Sampson in this record was spelled Samson. I knew that the spelling of the name had been changed, but supposed it had been changed in the next generation when my grandfather was named Samson.

They had a numerous family—thirteen children, eight of whom grew to manhood and womanhood. Their children were:

- I. Josiah, b. Dec. 22, 1768.
- II. Thomas, b. Feb. 13, 1773.
- III. Clement, b. Sept. 20, 1783; m. Elizabeth Hawks.
- IV. Sarah, b. Nov. 15; m. Nathaniel Lee.
- V. Submit, m. Phineas Tuttle.
- VI. Clarisa, m. Harry Merchant.

VII. Charlotte, m. Ezra Williams; d. in Washington D. C., about 1853, in the 59th year of her age.

VIII. Lucy, m. Michael Tuttle.

Sampson moved from Massachusetts to Broome county, New York, and settled on a farm in Chenango, now known as Glen Castle, which is about six miles north of Binghamton. He was a man fond of hunting and fishing; was tall, with a fair skin and light hair: a man of more than ordinary ability, with a hot temper, and sometimes expressed his feelings with more vigor than elegance.

When he was a boy he was bound out, and not liking his place, enlisted in the army as a soldier in the "Old French War", when sixteen years of age, serving in two campaigns. During a portion of the time he was engaged under General Amherst in reducing the walls of Louisburg. The later portion of his time as a soldier he was engaged in boating on the Mohawk, carrying supplies to the soldiers at Fort Stanwix. At the end of about four years he returned to his home in Dunstable. I had searched the record of the soldiers of the Revolution for a direct line to myself, and found over three hundred by the name of French who had been in the war of the Revolution, but none that I could claim as my direct ancestor. I wrote to S. H. French, Amsterdam, N. Y., who is a great-grandson of Sampson, Jr., asking him for information concerning the early history. I copy from his reply:

You ask about the military history of our mutual ancestor, born 1742. In 1776 he was about 34 years old, his son Thomas about three years old, and his son Clement not yet born. Sampson was the only one who could have taken part in the Revolution, and he did not for the reason he was at heart a Tory. He did not take up either side actively but said he thought the war a mistake and King George's government good enough. My father told me he was drafted twice and each time furnished a substitute, which he could have done as he had considerable property. Some one ought to have punched this particular Sampson in those days, but he was six feet tall and had a red-hot temper, so he escaped. But there is something to be said for our Sampson. As we look at it now, a man to be patriotic in 1776 must be willing to help destroy the regular government. In 1861 it was considered patriotic to support and defend the regular govern-

ment. My own experience leads me to think that serving in the army as a soldier intensifies and renders more permanent a man's attachment to and respect for, a regular government. Now our Sampson enlisted in the British army under Gen. Amherst and served in the war between England and France before the Revolution. Perhaps this experience helped color his later opinions.

Lusannah French, wife of Samson French, Jr., died in 1829, aged 77 years. Samson had her buried on the farm, and requested to be buried beside her. He died in 1833 aged 91 years. They were married when Lusannah was fifteen years old, she having been born in September, 1752, hence was ten years younger than her husband. When the farm was sold, the remains of Samson and Lusannah were taken up and buried in the Wileox burying-ground near Castle Creek, Broome county, New York, about four miles from the Samson French farm.

Binghamton was incorporated as a village April 2, 1813, made a town April 3, 1855, and a city April 9, 1867. It was here that the Frenches and others in that locality in the earlier days, got their mail and went to "meeting." Some things pertaining to the early history of the county may be of interest here.

So far as can be determined by records and traditions, the first white man to appear in this part of the country was Conrad Weiser, an Indian interpreter. He was on his way from the lower settlements to attend a council of the great and powerful Iroquois, or Five Nations, at Onondaga, and passed up the Susquehanna its entire length from Chesapeake Bay on foot. What a journey it must have been, alone through the untrodden wilderness of giant forest in the midst of winter, beside the lonely river. It is recorded that he reached Tioga (now Athens), March 29, 1737. The first school in this valley was taught in 1778 by Col. William Ross.

The first saw mill in Broome county was built in 1788 on Castle Creek, by a son of Samson French. The first grist mill was built on Fitch's Creek in Kirkwood in 1790.

Going to mill meant something to the early settlers of this county, for it was no light undertaking. These journeys were

for many years the chief business that took them away from home.

At Tioga Point (now Athens, Pa.), were Shepherd's mills, a distance of forty miles from the site of Binghamton. The only other mills within reach were at Wattles Ferry, seventy miles up the Susquehanna. Both these mills were visited by pioneers of this section, and jaunts were made, occupying from a week to a fortnight, the grain being transported in canoes on the river. In these early days much of the corn was pounded (after the manner of the Indians), by means of a mortar made by hollowing out the top of a stump and with a heavy pestle attached to a spring pole over the mortar. Thus was corn converted into Indian meal and samp. It was sometimes boiled whole and eaten with milk and maple sugar.

With the growth of population of this locality, came increased demands for milling facilities, and the construction of "Old Rock Bottom" dam, furnished excellent water power, and a number of mills were built.

The first store was opened in Binghamton in 1801. The goods were brought overland from Catskill on the Hudson at a cost of \$3.00 per hundred pounds.

As early as 1806 a turnpike was built along the Susquehanna River from Otsego county to Chenango Forks (now Binghamton.) The road was constructed four rods wide with toll gates every ten miles. The rates of toll were:

For a score of sheep or hogs.....	8c
For a score of cattle, horses or mules.....	4c
Horse and rider	4c
Horse led or driven	4c
Sulky, chair or chaise, one horse.....	12½c
Cart, one horse.....	6¼c
Chariot, coach, coachee or phaeton.....	20c
Stage or other four-wheel carriage, two horses, mules or oxen	12½c
Each additional mule, horse or ox.....	3c
Cart, two horses	12½c
Sleigh or sled, two horses.....	6¼c

From 1835 to 1845 the average expenses per year for superintendence of the poor affairs of Broome county were \$166.09. Not many poor in those days. In 1846 groceries sold in Binghamton about as follows:

Wheat flour, $2\frac{1}{2}c$ per pound.

Corn meal, 1c.

Codfish, a first article, $3\frac{3}{4}c$.

Saleratus, 6c.

Brown sugar, 7 to 10c.

Molasses, 3 shillings to 3 shillings and five cents per gal.

Whiskey, 19 and 20c per gal.

In 1846 the salary of the district attorney of Broome county was fixed by the legislature at \$250. The same official now gets \$1,250.00.

Ninth Generation.

Thomas⁹ French, (*Samson*,^s *Jr.*, *Sampson*,⁷ *Joseph*,⁶ *Samuel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), son of Samson and Lusannah, was born in Southwick, Mass., Feb. 3, 1773; he married Polly Hiseock, by whom he had four sons and four daughters, as follows:

- I. Maryetta, m. David Stever.
- II. Samson, m. Elizabeth Seaward.
- III. Nancy, m. Philo Ferris.
- IV. Polly, m. Marcena McIntyre.
- V. Hiram, m. Amanda Waterman.
- VI. Thomas, m. Polly Temple.
- VII. Chaney, m. Catherine Bishop.
- VIII. Harriet, m. Edwin Lee.

I do not know how many of the children were born in Southwick, but know that Chaney was born in Tyringham, Mass., and Harriet in Decatur, Otsego county, N. Y.

Thomas French was brought up a farmer, but subsequently learned the cloth dressing business, which he pursued many years in Otsego county, and from there, about the year 1826, he moved to Glen Castle, Broome county. Here

he purchased a farm of nearly two hundred acres, pretty well covered with timber, and reconstructed a grist mill and saw mill which was situated on Castle Creek which ran through the farm. He also added cloth dressing and dyeing to the establishment.

When Thomas first moved to Glen Castle he lived in what is known as the "old mill house" which was built in 1810, and is still standing, occupied by Mr. George Johnson.

In 1830 Thomas built a house south of the mill house, and when completed moved to his new home which faced the west. "It has had some things about it changed, remodeled inside, a room or two having been added, but the place still remains the same. You go into a large room which was formerly the kitchen, from which the fireplace has been removed. There is the pantry with its old-fashioned latches, the narrow little hall which leads to upstairs," etc. I remember spending a night in this house in 1856 and my great-grandfather (Thomas French) holding me on his knee, and of a short clay pipe which he was smoking.

Thomas was quite successful in business and acquired quite a fortune for those days. One piece of his property had a fine grove of trees on it, and it is said that certain persons wanted to hold a camp-meeting in this grove, but were afraid he would refuse, as it was well known he did not believe in camp-meetings or anything of that sort. Finally gaining courage to ask, they were surprised to receive a ready assent, providing they would not cut living trees. He afterward gave the site on which to build the Methodist church in Glen Castle and attended services there. His wife, Polly, died in 1839, after an illness lasting six years. In 1843 he married a second wife, Mary, widow of Reed Brockway of Lisle, N. Y., with whom he lived seventeen years. He died August 21, 1861, aged 88 years, and is buried by the side of Polly, his first wife, in Glen Castle cemetery, where many of the French family are buried.

Tenth Generation.

Samson¹⁰ French (*Thomas,⁹ Samson,⁸ Jr., Sampson,⁷ Joseph,⁶ Samuel,⁵ William,⁴ Thomas,³ Thomas,² Thomas¹*), oldest son of Thomas and Polly (Hiscoek) French, was born in Southwick, Mass., Jan. 19, 1796. When fourteen years of age, he removed with his parents from Tyringham, Mass., to Decatur, Otsego county, N. Y., where he worked on the farm with his father and also learned the business of dyeing and fulling cloth. He was married March 3, 1818, to Elizabeth Seaward, who was born in Decatur, Feb. 7, 1798. They began house-keeping in Cherry Valley (where the Indian massacre occurred in April, 1780), and lived there for two years. Then they moved to Decatur, living there three years, going thence to Glen Castle, Broome county, where they lived until 1826, when they returned to Decatur, Otsego county, and Samson's father, Thomas, moved to Glen Castle. The children of Samson and Elizabeth French were:

I. James Thomas, b. Cherry Valley, Jan. 29, 1819; m. Calphurna Treat in Decatur; d. April 19, 1867.

II. Lucy Oletha French, b. Decatur, Feb. 16, 1821; m. Rev. Atchison Queal of Worcester, N. Y., Apr. 9, 1845; d. Des Moines, Iowa, March 15, 1885.

III. Stephen Henry French, b. Decatur, Dec. 30, 1822; d. Apr. 18, 1823.

IV. A son, b. Chenango, Apr. 21, 1825; d. Oct. 18, 1825.

V. John Seaward French, b. Chenango, Oct. 19; m. Susan Barfoot of Peoria, Ill.; d. at Wayne, Neb., Dec. 23, 1904.

VI. Mary French, b. Decatur, Dec. 6, 1829; m. in Morrow Co., Ohio, to Dr. N. M. Smith; d. Jan. 28, 1908.

VII. Osear L. R. French, b. Decatur, May 7, 1832; m. Mary Clevenger of Morrow Co., Ohio, Nov. 15, 1855; she died Feb. 17, 1856. He married second, Cidney Ellen Keech of Westchester, Pa., and d. in Johnsville, Ohio, March 26, 1896.

VIII. Martin, b. Decatur, June 29, 1837; m. 1877, Belle Chamberlain of Ames, Iowa, and d. Aug. 1, 1900, at Ames Iowa.

IX. Marvin, b. Decatur, June 29, 1837; d. Aug. 16, 1839.

X. Alva C. French b. Decatur, Apr. 15, 1839; m. Lydia Elder of Morrow Co., Ohio.

XI. Calvin Day French, b. Decatur, May 8, 1842; m. Libbie Jones of Clarksville, N. Y.

Samson bought a farm on the Decatur road between the villages of Worcester and Decatur, where he operated a fulling mill and dyeing establishment in addition to farming. The house is still standing on the farm where Samson lived, and where seven of his children were born. No changes have been made in this building, but new siding and a slate roof replace those originally used. My mother, Lucy French, was married in this house, April 9, 1845. As the sons of Samson and Elizabeth grew up, they were taught industry and frugality, working on the farm summers and in winter attending school in the "French" schoolhouse which is still in use and is of much historic interest.

It is a matter of record that on the 5th of February, 1842, there was a big rain which so raised the streams as to take away the bridges and mill dams. The stream which comes from Decatur (now known as Decatur creek) "took away all the bridges thereon, a part of Samson French's mill dam and many other dams and some out buildings were washed away."

In 1841 (James) Thomas French went to Cattaraugus county. He taught school during the winter and in the spring of 1842 went to Ohio. "He was in Cincinnati and other points on the Ohio river but his health was not good, prospects were poor and money scarce." He returned to Decatur, Aug. 11, 1842. It proved that he was the advance guard of the French family, for not long after his return the Ohio "bee was buzzing" in my grandfather's "bunnet." Some of the relatives of my grandmother moved to Ohio, and glowing accounts were sent back from time to time about the riches of the country; land was cheap and most of it was heavily timbered. Finally in 1847, my grandfather, with all his family excepting Thomas and Lucy (my mother), moved

to Ohio. Thomas having married and his wife having no curiosity to see the west, much less to live there, and my mother having married a Methodist preacher and he feeling that his work was in that part of the moral heritage they two remained in York state.

Grandfather bought a farm in Washington township, Morrow county, about a mile north of Smith's Mills, at which place they received their mail for a number of years. The improvements on this farm consisted of a log cabin with one room and a shed kitchen, a small barn and an orchard of about a dozen apple trees, planted by a man who was known as Johnny Appleseed, he having earned this title on account of his going through the country in an early day planting apple seeds.

Smith's Mills consisted of a saw mill and grist mill operated by the Smith brothers, the post-office being in the grist mill. There was also a blacksmith shop owned by Harvey Wood "a good blacksmith." Mt. Gilead, the county seat, was about six miles from the home of my grandfather. Two miles northeast of their home was West Point, where there was a store and one or two houses. The first summer they were in Ohio my aunt, Mary French, was sent to this place with a basket of eggs which she was to exchange for sugar. She went on horseback, her father giving her explicit directions to follow as she had never been to the place. After riding for a long time and not seeing the town, she overtook a man walking, and asked him if he could tell her how much farther she must go to reach West Point. Imagine her surprise when she found she had passed through the place nearly two miles back and had not recognized it as "the town."

My grandfather was a lover of good horses and I have heard him say "the grass never grows under my horses' feet for I drive fast in winter to get out of the cold and in summer to make a breeze."

In 1854 he planned a frame house, but after getting the logs to the mill and having the lumber ready, he found that forty acres adjoining his land could be purchased, so he sold his lumber and secured the land for about \$600. In 1856

this forty acres was purchased by my father for \$1,000. On account of failing health, he was obliged to leave the ministry, and had removed with his family to Ohio, where he died, July 6, 1859.

Samson French being a good farmer, cleared his land and fenced it with rails made from the hickory and oak trees which grew on the farm, all of this being accomplished by the help of his sons. The house which he planned was not built until 1857, and the following is the article of agreement between my grandfather and the "carpenter and joiner."

An Article of Agreement between Samson French of Morrow Co., State of Ohio, and Adam Sell of Morrow Co., State of Ohio, for the building of a house by said Sell for said French, made this 27th day of Feb., 1857. Samson French agrees to furnish all the building material, shingles, a foundation ready to lay the timbers upon, to board the workmen while laboring in construction of said house, also furnish all panel doors and the window sash. Adam Sell agrees to do the carpenter and joiner work of the house, to be 34 feet long and 24 feet wide double sealed, partitioned below as follows: A sitting room in the northeast corner, a bedroom in the southwest corner, a recess for a bed at the southwest side of the sitting room, a clothes press directly south of bed recess accessible from the southwest corner bedroom. A kitchen in the northwest corner and south of the kitchen a bedroom, buttry and stairway. The cellar accessible from the buttry also by a door near the southwest corner of the house from the outside, the cellar doors to be batten doors. The upper part or chamber to be partitioned into four rooms. The doors above are to be batten doors, there is to be one east, one west, and one north outside door. There is to be four north, four east, (two above and two below) two or three south and three west (two above and one below) windows. Said Sell is to hang all the doors, fit all the window sash, make all the batten doors inside stairways, case the bed recess, fire place, put on the mop boards, chair railings, etc. In short to finish the carpenter and joiner work of the house in a substantial workmanlike manner by the tenth day of Oct., 1857. For which Samson French agrees to pay Adam Sell \$135.00, one-half to be paid when the work is done, the other half in two months from that time. We hereby bind ourselves to fulfill our parts of the above agreement respectively by the signature of our names.

SAMSON FRENCH

Dated Feb. 27, 1857.

ADAM S. SELL.¹

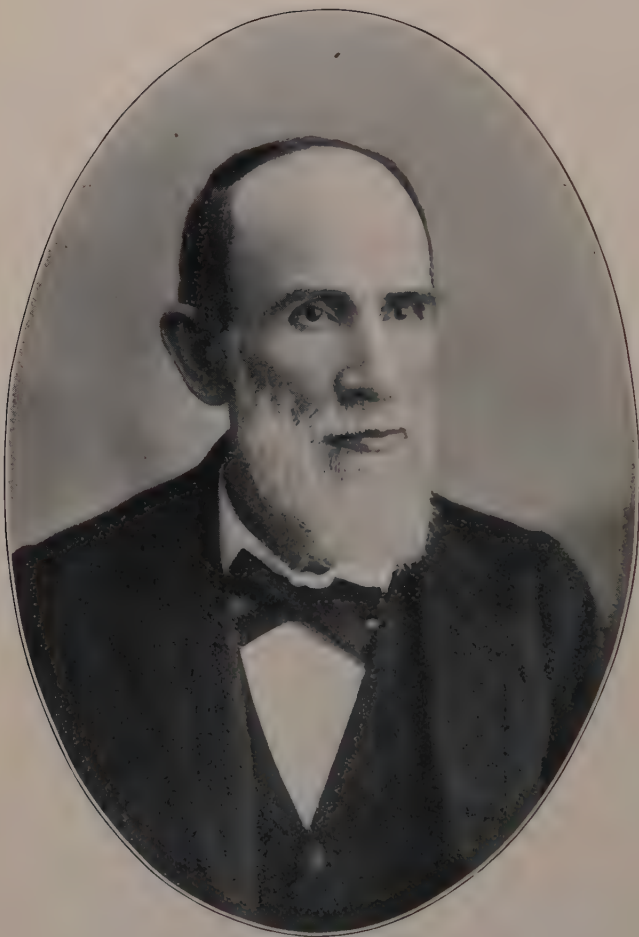
¹Adam Sell enlisted in the civil war and died in Libby Prison.

The house was not built exactly as the above plan. There were two bed rooms opening from the "sitting room" instead of a "bed recess and clothes press," and there were three rooms upstairs instead of four, the front room having a recess and clothes press at the north and one at the south side of the room. They built a wood house across the west side of the house which was afterwards finished as kitchen and bedroom.

On April 11, 1861, occurred the death of my grandfather, Samson French, and on August 24th following, that of my grandmother, Elizabeth French. Of their immediate family but two remain, Alva C. French living at St. James, Ohio, and Calvin D. French, living in Binghamton, N. Y. Of the French family living in Iowa at the present time, are Dr. L. H. French,¹ who came from Glen Castle, N. Y., more than half a century ago, and who now lives at 318 East Sixth St., Davenport, Iowa. His daughter, Mrs. Nellie French Whittaker, living at 140 College Ave., Davenport, is a member of the Iowa Society of Colonial Dames. Mrs. Helen French Alderman, daughter of Chauncey French of Glen Castle, N. Y., and cousin of L. H. French, resides in Anamosa, Iowa, where she has lived since 1862. Judson Alderman, her husband, who is still living, came from Castle Creek, N. Y.

Bayard T. French, son of Oscar L. R. and Sidney Ellen French, a member of the firm of John H. Queal and Co., lumbermen, is living at Hawarden, Iowa, and his brother, Samson D. French, who is one of the auditors of the same lumber company, lives at Algona, Iowa. Mrs. Belle French, widow of Martin French, is living in Ames, Iowa, and Katherine French Kresinger, daughter of Calvin and Libbie French, at No. 816 Buchanan Street, Des Moines, Iowa. I am the daughter of Lucy French Queal, and live at 1027 Des Moines Street, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹Died Sept. 19, 1910.



JUDGE ROBERT SLOAN.

JUDGE ALEXANDER BROWN.

By Judge Robert Sloan.

When I came to Keosauqua on the first day of April, 1860, to study law under Hon. George G. Wright, the resident membership of the bar of Van Buren county consisted of the firms of Wright & Baldwin; Knapp, Caldwell & Wright; Smith & Goodfellow; Webster & Miller, and Ford & Brown.

Hon. Henry Clay Caldwell, who retired some years ago as United States Circuit Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Judicial District, is the sole survivor of the bar as it then existed. Hon. George G. Wright had declined re-election to the Supreme Court of the State, and had entered the practice on the first day of January, 1860, with Charles Baldwin. Sometime during that summer Judge Stockton died, leaving a vacancy in the Supreme Court, and at the solicitation of Governor Kirkwood, Judge Wright accepted the appointment to fill the vacancy and was duly elected thereto at the October election that year. He never re-entered the practice at Keosauqua, but after serving nearly two years on the Supreme Bench, and a term in the United States Senate, re-entered the practice at Des Moines. George F. Wright removed to Council Bluffs during the year 1868, where he remained in practice the remainder of his life. William Webster removed to Nevada in 1864, where he continued actively in the practice until his death. Rufus L. Miller entered the United States service in the summer of 1861 as battalion adjutant of the Third Iowa Cavalry, but later became adjutant of the Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and served until the close of the war. He then entered the practice at Quincy, Ill., where he died while marshal of a Fourth of July procession some years ago. Goodfellow also enlisted in the

Civil War, serving until its close. Later he engaged in the mercantile business as a traveling solicitor of a jewelry house. Henry Ford removed to Magnolia, Iowa. He served one term as district attorney, and three terms as District Judge in the Sioux City District. The last years of his life were spent in Seattle. Hon. Joseph C. Knapp, Hon. Charles Baldwin and Hon. Joseph F. Smith, remained in Van Buren county until their deaths. . .

Early in 1860 the firm of Ford & Brown had determined to remove to Magnolia, in Harrison county, of this State, and engage in the practice. Judge Brown had gone there in March, and Ford followed in the course of a couple of months. They remained until the summer of 1861 when Judge Brown returned to Keosauqua to enlist in Company E, of the Fifteenth Iowa Volunteer Infantry, which was being recruited there. It was during that time that we became acquainted and our friendship began which continued during life. The regiment some time during the summer and fall of that year was quartered at Keokuk, and remained there until just prior to the battle of Shiloh, when it was ordered to report to Gen. Grant. It arrived by steamboat on the morning of the day of that historic battle, and many of the men were for the first time furnished arms. They were ordered into line of battle as early as ten o'clock and were engaged therein during the day, losing very heavily in killed and wounded. The regiment did splendid service in this engagement, and deserves great praise for unflinching courage under an ordeal that might well have dismayed veteran troops.

Judge Brown a short time prior thereto had been made sergeant major of the regiment, and while engaged in the discharge of his duties was severely wounded in the hip. On this account he was invalided, granted leave of absence and came home. He remained until he was sufficiently recovered to return to his regiment, a short time before the battle of Corinth, in which he was wounded in the arm and shoulder on the first day of the battle. This wound was so severe that it resulted in his discharge from the service some time later,

when he went to Burlington as Chief Clerk under Robert B. Rutledge, Provost Marshal of that Congressional District. He continued in this position until the close of the war.

He was variously engaged from that time until January 1, 1868, when he became County Judge, then a court of probate jurisdiction. This jurisdiction was removed by the creation of the Circuit Court, and the County Judge became county auditor, which latter office he held for three consecutive terms. He was not only a popular officer; but unusually efficient, and perfectly fearless in the discharge of the duties of his office. No man ever questioned his integrity. He mastered the duties of his office and performed them skillfully, carefully and accurately. While he was an ardent republican, he was never a partisan in office. Everyone, without regard to political affiliations or social position, power or wealth, who had business with him as an officer, was given prompt and courteous treatment, and furnished with all available information. He was in every respect an ideal officer, and won for himself the friendship, esteem and confidence of the people throughout the county, which he retained while life lasted.

During the years in which he served as a public officer, he became widely acquainted throughout the county, and this, in connection with the high character for integrity and efficiency which he had already attained, rendered him a valuable addition to the bar, when he re-entered the practice as a member of the firm of Work & Brown. This firm at once came to the front at the bar of Van Buren county, and had to be reckoned with at all times in the legal conflicts of that day. The Judge disliked trial work, but his partner was never happier than when the conflict began, except perhaps when the result was satisfactory in every respect.

In the fall of 1881, the firm became Sloan, Work & Brown, and so continued for some years. Sometime in 1883, W. A. Work removed to Ottumwa and engaged for a number of years in the practice under the firm name. For a short time after the retirement of Mr. Work, the firm of Sloan & Brown, and Sloan, Brown & Sloan, were in practice in Keosauqua.

About the spring of 1893, Judge Brown retired from the firm and opened an office of his own, continuing in the practice until his death. During this time he was four years county attorney, discharging the duties of the office very efficiently, and with real regard to the public welfare.

He served in the state Senate during the session of 1881 and '82, securing the passage of the statute that enabled Van Buren and other counties to bridge the Des Moines river. He won the confidence and respect of his associates in the Senate, and the legislation secured by him was of great value to the State.

During my association with him in the practice, we became intimate friends. He was in no sense of the word spectacular and never sensational, but when it came to solidity of judgment, firmness of purpose and untiring effort, he had few superiors. He was a wise counselor, not only because of his ability as a jurist—he looked beyond the mere legal propositions involved—saw the difficulties in the way, and the dangers of defeat. He gave advice not merely as a lawyer, but as a friend, and it was rare indeed, that his client engaged in litigation unprepared for the final result, whatever it might be. When consulted in a cause without merit, he readily discovered it, and would quietly yet clearly advise that there was no case. In our long association together, at no time did I ever have the slightest reason to question his integrity. Indeed his character therein was so firmly founded that temptation secured no consideration whatever, and was turned aside as something only to be remembered as putting him upon guard against the person who was guilty of endeavoring to lead him astray.

It was a rare thing for him to discuss religious questions, but when he did he gave rare insight into the faith by which his life was guided, his conduct governed, and on which his character was founded. That he was at all times free from doubt in relation to Christianity is not correct, but those who knew him best will realize how peculiarly appropriate to him are these words of Tennyson:

"Perplext in faith, but pure in deeds,

At last he beat his music out.

There lives more faith in honest doubt
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

He fought his doubts and gather'd strength,

He would not make his judgment blind,

He faced the spectres of the mind

And laid them: Thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;

And Power was with him in the night,

Which makes the darkness and the light

And dwells not in the light alone."

Nothing can so comfort his good wife, who survives him, as the consciousness that their parting is only for a little while, and that they will surely be reunited in that home where sorrow and death do not enter. We do well to commemorate his life and character, and will do even better to emulate it. It is not necessary for me to speak of his relations to the bar, but I believe I can say without contradiction that he had the friendship and affection of all, and his death is sincerely mourned.

It is doubtful if the Judge was ever free from suffering from the wound which he received at the battle of Corinth, but who among us ever heard him complain? In my judgment this had much to do with his dislike for trial work, which almost always resulted in a severe headache. That he would have become a good trial lawyer, had he remained in the practice from the time he was first admitted to the bar in 1859, I have every reason to believe. He had the qualities of mind that eminently fit men for that work, and he only needed practice and development. He was a fine office lawyer and was exceedingly helpful in the preparation of cases.

He spent practically his entire life in Van Buren county, and was always interested in public enterprises undertaken for its betterment. Words, mere words, will add nothing to the esteem in which he was held by all. The Grand Army of the Republic who laid him to rest with the solemn ceremonies of their order, fully recognize his merit as a soldier, the courage and devotion with which he served his country, and the suffering which it entailed upon him ever after. One by one, those brave men are answering the final roll call. The generations

to come will never realize, and never be able to pay the debt of gratitude which they owe to these defenders of the Union. Their full reward must come from Him who controls the destinies of Nations.

DEATH OF COLONEL REDFIELD.

From the collection of papers of Mr. Joseph M. Griffith, recently presented to the Historical Department by his grandson, Simon Casady, Jr., is the following, copied in the hand writing of Col. Griffith:

Headquarters of the 39th Iowa Infantry,
Rome, Ga., Oct. 10, 1864.

Israel Redfield, Esq.,
Redfield, Iowa.

Dear Sir:—

It is my painful duty to inform you and through you the family of our late Lieut. Col. James Redfield of his death on the field of battle at Alatoona, on the 5th inst. All communication with the North, excepting by telegraph, has been cut off; hence this delay.

Colonel James Redfield left Rome, Ga., on the evening of the 4th inst. in command of his regiment. He was in excellent health and cheerful spirits. The object of the expedition was to guard supplies at Alatoona from the enemy. No one anticipated a battle, but on the evening of the 5th they were attacked by a large force of the enemy and were engaged all day. The 39th was in the front, and under their gallant leader performed deeds of *valor unequalled* in the history of this campaign. The results will show you their determined and desperate fighting. There was in the engagement two hundred and eighty rank and file of our regiment; of these, ten were commissioned officers, five of whom were killed outright, two wounded and captured, and only three left. The total loss to the regiment was 163, nearly two-thirds of the whole. Col. Redfield had orders to hold his position at every hazard, and as it was a very exposed one and was charged by the enemy massed in column, the officers were necessarily exposed to a murderous fire. The Colonel was passing along the lines, cheering and animating the men to fight to the last, when he was hit by a musket ball. It passed through his heart, and he fell *facing the enemy*, without a groan or a struggle. His expression of countenance was natural and as when sleeping.

The fall of their gallant and loved leader only inspired the boys with new deadly determination, and they fought the enemy then in a hand-to-hand encounter. Their bodies lay side by side, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that no *traitor* touched his person after he fell. The railroad was cut by the enemy and the command had to remain for two days. Every exertion was made to bring the remains to this place, but it was found to be necessary to inter them in Coatesville, where they will rest until communication with the North is opened, when the command will have the sad pleasure of forwarding them to such place as the family may direct.



The Black Hawk Sword.

THE SWORD OF BLACK HAWK.

BY D. C. BEAMAN.

From 1861 to 1874 I lived at Independent (now Selma) on the Des Moines river, in Van Buren county, Iowa, two miles below the farm of James H. Jordan, and one mile below the town of Iowaville, where was fought the last battle between the Sacs and Foxes and the Iowas, in which the latter were practically exterminated.

Mr. Jordan was Indian post trader at Iowaville in 1833 and subsequent years, when Black Hawk had quit fighting and had built a lodge on Jordan's farm, where he died and was buried. I often conversed with Mr. Jordan about the incidents of Black Hawk's later life. These were written up by me in 1873 for the Old Settlers Memorial, a journal then published by Thomas Gregg at Keokuk.

It was generally known, notwithstanding the final destruction of Black Hawk's skeleton in a fire in Burlington, Iowa, and the destruction or loss of the medals and swords given him by others, that the sword given to him by General Jackson was not found with Black Hawk's remains, but it has not been generally known since then what became of the sword.

For some years I have been trying to locate it, but without success until last October I learned it was in the possession of Arthur Hinkle, Jordan's grandson, at Selma, and he consented to its deposit with the Historical Department of Iowa.

From Mr. Jordan's statements to me and information by others, the following I believe is its true history.

In April, 1833, Black Hawk was taken as a prisoner to Washington, and presented to President Jackson, who so impressed him with the futility of further warfare, that he

promised to be good. He was then given this sword by Jackson. Others gave him some jewelry for his wife—all in token of the new formed friendship.

He returned to Iowa and lived on Mr. Jordan's farm near Iowaville until his death, September 15, 1838. The day before his death he gave this sword to Mr. Jordan.

During the 50's it came into the possession of the Eureka Masonic Lodge in Iowaville by purchase from a resident of that vicinity, and the tyler of the lodge used it as his official arm. Where it had been since 1838, and how it got out of Jordan's immediate possession, I have not been able to ascertain. Jordan learned of it, however, and immediately recognized it as the Jackson sword, but made no effort to get it, and it remained there until the lodge became defunct.

Hon. Robert Sloan, now of Keosauqua, was secretary of the lodge, and kept the sword and took it with him to Keosauqua, where he turned it over to the Masonic Lodge at that place. It remained there until 1871 or 1872, when the lodge building was burned, and the scabbard and hilt of the sword were destroyed or lost in the ruins, and nothing now remains of it but the fire-scarred blade, which is shown by the accompanying illustration.

Mr. Hinkle obtained it from the lodge in 1889.

In Mr. Hinkle's possession is the account book of Mr. Jordan, his grandfather, kept by him in Iowaville in 1833, and years following, and in which are entered many accounts against the Indians, then on their reservation near Iowaville.

On the first page appears an account against the Indian Chief Keokuk, of date October 1st, 1833. Some of it is not very legible. One item is for a "strowd" (proper spelling stroud) which perhaps everybody may not know is a coarse blanket used by the Indians. The breech clouts, tomahawks and powder horns need no definition.

It seems that Keokuk also purchased at one time 45 handkerchiefs at 75c each. Just what the old fellow needed of so many handkerchiefs is not apparent, as it was generally supposed that he did not have that many wives.

It will also be noticed that whiskey was then only \$1.00 a gallon, but that was before the days of the Civil War revenue tax.

The last item in the account is a blanket for Jake West, who was a half-breed famous among other things for having a hand almost as large as that of Divine Providence, and feet which would crowd each other in the narrow way. A portion of his history I wrote up some years ago in *The Keosauqua Republican*. This half-breed's name was really Chequest, and a creek near Iowaville was named after him, but his name became corrupted to Jake West.

The second page shows a purchase in 1835 by a bunch of Indians, but the items are not given. Its principal feature of interest is the names of the Indians, among which again appears that of Keokuk.

There are a good many pages of the account book showing purchases by many other Indians, whose names are given, but they do not seem of sufficient interest to justify their reproduction.

I had hoped to find in the book an account against Black Hawk, but was unable to do so. He must have been a cash customer.

Denver, Colo., June 7, 1910.

A CORRECTION.

Fortunately no draft [during the civil war] was required in Floyd county nor in Iowa. (*Annals of Iowa*, 3d ser. V. 9, No. 5, p. 331.)

From the History of Floyd County, Interstate Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882, we quote:

E. A. Teeling, of Charles City, was appointed Provost Marshal for this district to conduct the conscription. On the 20th of October, 1864, twenty-six names were turned out for Floyd county by the wheel of chance at Decorah, the first thirteen of which * * * were of those who had either to go to war or hire a substitute.

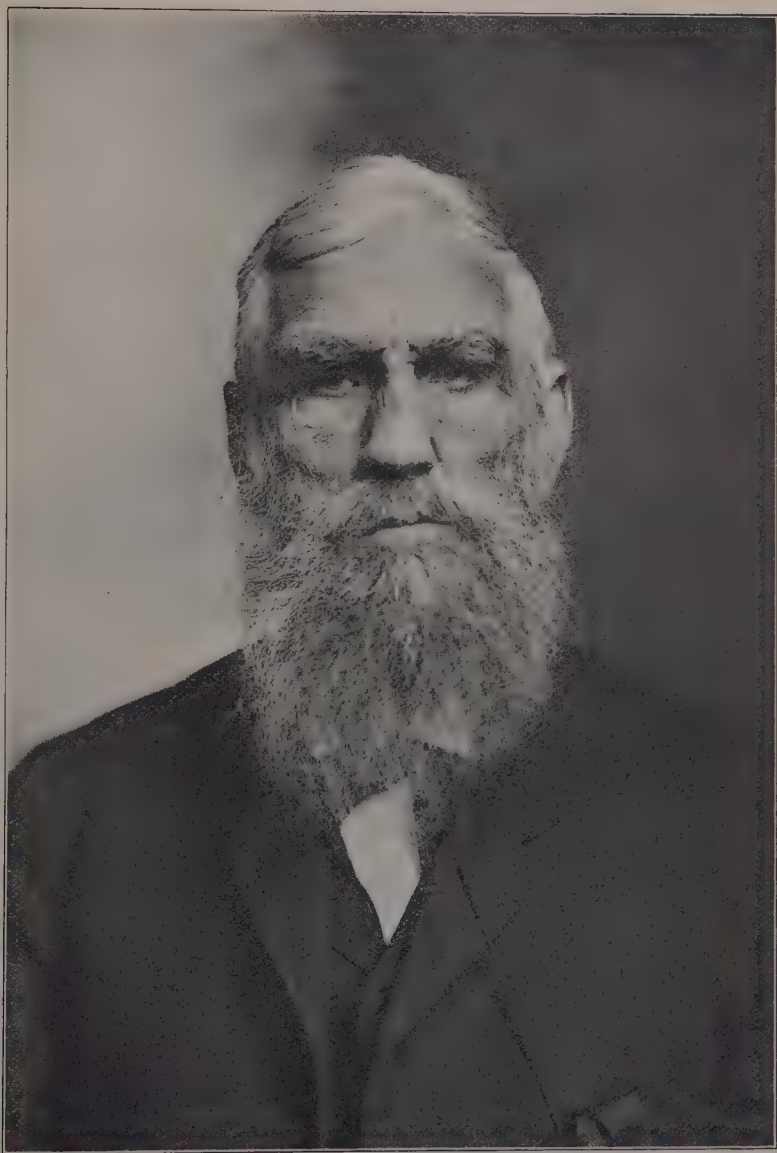
OLD ZION CHURCH, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

BY EDMUND H. WARING, D. D.

This honored and somewhat noted edifice has had a very remarkable history, connected with the early annals of the Territory of Iowa, as well as with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Perhaps no western edifice has witnessed more remarkable scenes, or been devoted to more diverse uses. And besides these distinctions it was the first brick church built in the limits of the State, and at the time when it was dismantled was the oldest house of worship then in use in Iowa.

Contrary to what is usually the case, the materials for a very complete account of Old Zion are extant. The early records, for which we are indebted to the careful forethought of Rev. N. S. Bastion, the first stationed preacher of the church in Burlington, were kept with considerable completeness, and have been preserved.

The principal actor in the erection of Old Zion was Dr. William R. Ross. Ross was one of the first settlers at Flint Hills, as that vicinity was then called. He was on the ground when there was nothing there but a string of cabins at the landing, which was known as Pin Hook. In 1833 he brought the first stock of goods to the place. There were a number of honorable "firsts" to his name. He was the first postmaster, justice, and clerk of the court there. Through him the first preacher, Rev. Barton H. Cartwright, was secured, and he appears to have been the first man of the settlers to get married. But in accomplishing this purpose he had trouble. He found the lady, but Pin Hook contained no person authorized to perform the needed ceremony. But "love laughs at locksmiths." A justice was brought from Monmouth, Ill., and Ross, taking his bride across the river



REV. E. H. WARING.

in a skiff, was married in the open on the Illinois shore. Of him that other worthy Burlington pioneer, lately called away, Dr. William Salter, said:

"Dr. Ross built several cabins in 1833. He was public spirited and a warm hearted Methodist. He was the first postmaster of the town. It was five years ago he told me that the school and church were residents in 1834, and he was the right hand man of the teacher and the preacher. And one of his cabins furnished the place with a schoolhouse. He built Old Zion, which was free to order for preaching. His work and services not only resulted in the large and flourishing Methodist church that has grown out of his labors; but it is also in all the churches and schools that have been built from that time to this."

He might have added that the early Methodist preaching there by Cartwright was in Dr. Ross's cabin, on the north hill, the yard being frequently filled with Indians during the service. This worthy man died some years since at Lovilla, Iowa, at a very advanced age. Dr. Ross bought the two lots on which the church and parsonage stood for one hundred dollars, and donated them to the society. In 1836 he dug the cellar, or rather excavated from the hill nearly the whole of the south lot, for the building, at a cost of \$72.00, the only aid being \$20.00, given by David Rorer, a pioneer lawyer of the town. The next year, 1838, the work on the church was commenced; but the progress, for want of means, was slow. The old record book has the minutes of a meeting held March 5th, 1838, at Mr. Chapman's room, "to take into consideration the erection of a meeting house." The pastor, Rev. N. S. Bastion, J. C. Sleeth, Thomas Ballard, Levi Hagar, Wm. Davis and Wm. R. Ross were present. It was resolved to build a house of brick, 40 by 60 feet in size, and Sleeth, Ross and Hagar were named as a building committee. Precise instructions were given the committee. They were: "1. To estimate the probable expense. 2. To raise funds. 3. To plan said building. 4. To let out and make all contracts, and for security to have a lien on the building. 5. To exer-

cise a general superintendence over the work until completed. 6. To have power to make their own regulations, and to fill vacancies in their number occasioned in any way." Certainly their duties were plain, and their powers ample.

The quarterly conference, which met on March 10th, and was composed of the same parties, with the addition of the presiding-elder, confirmed the appointment of the committee, and added Adam Fortney to their number. The committee held frequent meetings, in which plans, specifications and proposals of the mechanics were fully discussed and a contract for the brick was made with Dr. Ross, June 15th, 1838, at the rate of \$7.50 per thousand. The contract for the stone was made with parties styled "the Germans," at the rate of "one dollar for every 221½ cubic feet, to be measured clear measure when in the wall." The walls of the basement were to be two feet thick, and it was to have "doors and windows sufficient to make it light and airy, so that the rooms would be pleasant and comfortable for meetings and schools." But this the situation of the church, dug out of the steep hill side, effectually prevented. March 7th, 1838, the form of the subscription was agreed upon; but the list of subscribers is lost. The probable cost of the house, "partially completed," was stated at from two to three thousand dollars. Under date of April 2nd, 1838, Mr. Bastion says: "The contracts for the stone, lime, lumber, brick, timber and digging are all let. See list of contracts in this book." But the list is missing. The work upon the church, under these arrangements, was commenced in April or May, 1838.

June 14th, 1838, the following trustees were appointed: John C. Sleeth, W. R. Ross, Thomas Ballard, Robert Cock and Robert Avery. They met June 18th, 1838, and resolved "in their capacity of trustees to assume the responsibility of the business heretofore transacted by the building committee, and attend to the duties of their office," in view of which action Bastion records, June 25th, 1838, "the building committee is annihilated, and the trustees assume all the business and obligations."

About this time a begging tour, in the interest of the project, was undertaken by Bastion. To foot the current expenses of the trip Sleeth, Ross, Ballard and Hagar made up \$30.00, and Bastion went as far south as Louisville, Kentucky, where he had to borrow \$25.00 to pay his expenses home. And the balance sheet showed:

Cost of trip	\$55.00
Receipts	00.00
	<hr/>
Total loss	\$55.00

The Legislature of Wisconsin, then in session in Burlington, the Territorial Capital, passed an act of incorporation for the church, which was approved June 22nd, 1838. It provided that "John C. Sleeth, Thomas Ballard, Wm. R. Ross, Robert Avery and Robert Cock, and such other free white persons of full age as shall be associated with them, . . . shall be, and are hereby constituted and made a body corporate in deed and in law, by the name, style and title of the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Burlington.....with perpetual succession, and are hereby made capable in law to have, purchase, receive, take, hold, possess and enjoy, to them and their successors, to the use of the said Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of Burlington,.....Lot No. 374 and 375¹."

The Southern prejudice, prevalent at the time, is indicated in the phrase "free white persons."

During the summer and fall of 1838 the building was pressed vigorously. In a report signed by John C. Sleeth and Robert Cock, in which they state the amount of the original subscription at \$1,500.00, they say: "After having proceeded with the building to a considerable extent, an opportunity presented itself of renting the church to the legislative assembly. Thinking this opportunity a favorable one for raising funds to pay the expense of erection, every effort was made to have it completed in time for that special purpose." This report was made to the quarterly conference,

¹Laws of Wisconsin Territory, 1838, p. 346.

March 6th, 1841. The proposition came from Robert Lucas, Governor of the Territory of Iowa. The work on the church, so far as it had then been done, was finished in December, 1838. But nothing further had been accomplished than to enclose it, and put on one coat of plaster. And it then consisted of only the "old part." The front extension and cupola were not erected until 1846. A framed platform extended along the front of the church on a level with the audience room. It stood on turned posts, and was ascended from the street by a flight of steps. The building as completed thus, cost about \$4,500.00.

Perhaps this is a good place to say something about the pastor, Bastion, who lent his aid so efficiently in the furtherance of the work. He joined the Illinois Conference on trial in 1832. At the session of 1834 he was admitted to full connection, ordained a deacon, and sent to Dubuque. He was a man of fair talents and good scholarship, zealous, and of excellent business capacity; but erratic, irritable and given to change. At the close of his year at Dubuque he retired and taught school at Catfish Gap. There the school was often visited by the Indians, who could not understand why he was caring for other people's children, and who, in view of the apparent size of his family, gave him an Indian name, meaning Big Father. In 1837 he was sent to Burlington, then made a station. The next year he was appointed principal of the Preparatory Department of McKendree College. In 1849 he transferred to the Liberia Conference, Africa, of which he was the acting President in 1850. In 1851 he returned to America; but having become dissatisfied with his baptism, he did what he had a perfect right to do, withdrew from the Methodist Church, and so became lost to Methodist vision in the waters of a sound Baptist immersion.

The Territorial Legislature and government took possession of the church as soon as it was completed. The upper room was assigned to the House of Representatives, the front basement to the Senate. The rear basement was divided by rough board partitions, for the legislative and government offices.



OLD ZION, THE FIRST CAPITOL OF IOWA.

From an unsigned drawing used in the semi-centennial celebration ceremonies at Burlington, 1896.

Some long benches were provided for seats by the trustees; but the chairs used in the halls were purchased by the government. The Speakers' desks were made of boards, roughly planed, and nailed together so as to form a kind of stand; and the one in the audience room served, at time of preaching, as the pulpit. And so, it came to pass that, by the arrangement made, the Upper House of the Legislature was the Lower House, and the Lower House the Upper House! Amid such primitive surroundings the machinery of legislation was first put in motion in the Territory of Iowa.

In their report of 1841, the trustees gave their aggregate receipts to that date as follows: Received from the Legislature \$2,200. On subscription \$980. Total \$3,180. Remaining debt \$1,320. To meet this debt they had a balance of rent due of \$300, and subscriptions (depreciated) of about \$500, and the debt continued for some years to be a source of vexation and trouble. The late Rev. D. G. Cartwright informed me that while acting as a supply, as pastor of the church, in 1840, the building was threatened with sale; but he succeeded in getting a number of the creditors to release their claims, and in this way over \$1,000 of accumulated incumbrance was cleared off within two days. Dr. Ross said, "I paid for most of the material, rock, lime, lumber and all the brick, besides many other materials, and many of the workmen, costing me upwards of six thousand dollars; and after all, to keep it from being sold at a sacrifice—for it had gone through a Court of Law and Equity, and the Conference—I had to sell my own private residence, which cost me \$3,400 for \$1,200, and save the church from sale." Through such embarrassments many of the pioneer churches of Iowa had to pass but few of them had behind them a man of the pluck, liberality and self-sacrifice shown towards Old Zion by Dr. Ross. And it is a pity to say that what he did for the old church seriously embarrassed him in his later years.

The Iowa Patriot of December 13th, 1838, said of the old building: "The new Methodist Church is now occupied by the Legislative Assembly. It is a very neat and substantial

building. The basement story, partitioned off for conference and class-meetings, is composed of stone, and the upper part of brick. It is in a commanding situation, and when finished, with its cupola and bell, it will be a great ornament to the city of Burlington."

The location of Old Zion, on the west side of Third Street, between Washington and Columbia Streets, was central for the north side at the time. The claim to the town site was held by two brothers-in-law, White and Doolittle, and the church lots were purchased by Dr. Ross for one hundred dollars. The title to the lots, however, came to the trustees of the church through Bastion, who was held in a bond of \$10,000 to make the trustees a deed according to the provisions of the discipline of the M. E. Church, so soon as he should receive a patent from Washington. The duplicate of the certificate of title was placed in the hands of John C. Sleeth, to be sent to the land office; and the patent issued by the United States to the trustees is dated February 4, 1841.

The Legislature of the Territory of Iowa held four sessions in the church, viz: the regular sessions of 1838-39 and 1839-40, the extra session of July, 1840, and the regular session of 1840-41. And the appropriation bills show that the territorial government paid the trustees, for the use of the house, in all \$2,350. Besides its use by the Legislature it was employed for several years as the place of meeting of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and the District Court of Des Moines County. While so used, in June, 1845, the Mormon murderers, the Hodges brothers, were tried and convicted there of murder in the first degree. The verdict of the jury was delivered on Sunday morning, June 22nd; and on the afternoon of that day they were sentenced to death from the pulpit of Old Zion, and were both hung July 15th following.

The church being at that time the only commodious building in the town, it was used for a long time as the place of political meetings, lectures and even shows. And during all that time the services of the Methodist Church were held within its walls, and frequently those of other denominations

were held therein. And after its use was abandoned by the government, the basement was furnished with desks and private and public schools were accommodated there.

January 23rd and 24th, 1840, it was the scene of an Indian council held by Governor Lucas with the chiefs of the Sac and Fox Indians. About fifty of the Aborigines, including young Black Hawk, and the chiefs Wishelamaqua, or Hard-fish, Wapapesheek, or the Prophet, and Nasheaskuk, all in their native costumes, were present. They came to complain of the desecration by the whites, of old Black Hawk's grave. And the whole affair wound up with a big war dance and Indian show.

On Monday night, December 16th, 1838, it was the headquarters of a company of soldiers from Muscatine, numbering about 150, on their way to the threatened border war between Missouri and Iowa respecting the southern line of the Territory.

Four sessions of the Iowa Conference of the M. E. Church were held in Old Zion, viz.:

Date.	Bishop.	Secretary.
1845	T. A. Morris.....	H. W. Reed
1852	E. R. Ames.....	M. H. Hare
1861	Levi Scott.....	E. H. Waring
1868	E. S. Janes.....	E. H. Waring

On account of its diverse uses, the building was known by different names, such as "The Methodist Church," "The Court House," and "The State House." Thus in *The Iowa Patriot* of Dec. 13th, 1838, a notice said: "A two days' meeting will be held in the State House in this city on Saturday evening next, and continuing until Sunday night."

The name "Old Zion" dates from 1851. In a notice in the *Burlington Telegraph*, attention was called to the need of a new roof on the church, and to give prominence to the matter, the editor headed the notice with the words "Old Zion needs a new roof." The name thus given was at once attached to the building, and in 1854 the station, organized in the church, was named the Old Zion station.

In reference to the remarkable history of the old church, Hon. Charles Mason, in a speech delivered at an old settlers' festival in the church, June 2nd, 1858, said: "As illustrative of the novel uses to which it was necessary to adapt the limited means within our reach in those early days, and of the shifts to which we were driven by the great mother of invention, I need but remind you of the scenes which have been witnessed within these very walls. The main body of the edifice has now been standing about twenty years. It was the first, and for many years, the only church building in Burlington.

"Whoever, at the present day, sits within its hallowed precincts, listening to the fervid prayer, the calm discourse, the swelling anthem, or the loud hosanna, would be very erroneous in the conclusion that these were the only sounds that had ever echoed within it. No, other halls have witnessed more important and more tragical scenes; but where will you find those that could give a more variegated history? Here was embodied, for instance, for a number of years, the legislative wisdom of the Territory of Iowa—the "Lower" house paradoxically occupying the hall above, and the "Upper" house the room below. From these went forth those edicts which for many years have ruled this goodly land. Here too the Supreme Judicial Tribunal of the Territory held its sometime session; and the regular terms of the District Court were held here for many a year. Here the rights of persons and property were adjusted. Here the felon trembled, and hoped at the prospect of an inefficient penitentiary, and here the murderer met his final earthly doom. Nor is this all. With the eye of vivid recollection I now see before me the assembled patriotism of the young city, in democratic council assembled, to discuss in high debate, the momentous question of peace or further war, with our more powerful, but not more valiant antagonist. A model war was that, and worthy of our praise, where not a drop of blood was shed, where those who won the glory paid the bills, and ever since their hearts have been inclined to peace.

“Finally within these walls the amiable governor of the Territory met in friendly conference the representatives of some of the dissatisfied red children, to hear their complaints, and at least to promise them redress—an easy and oft repeated remedy.

“Here the citizens listened to the native eloquence of the Indians, and were treated to the exhibition of the song and the war dance. The wild whoop of the savage, which had often carried dismay and horror to many a stout heart, failed to make any impression on Old Zion, which then as now, looked on in strange gravity, and was determined not to be surprised at any scene that might transpire within it.” The war referred to was the contest over the boundary line between Missouri and Iowa.

And Old Zion has not wanted for a poet. At the Old Settlers’ Festival spoken of, Johnson Pierson, Esq., read a poem, in which were the following lines:

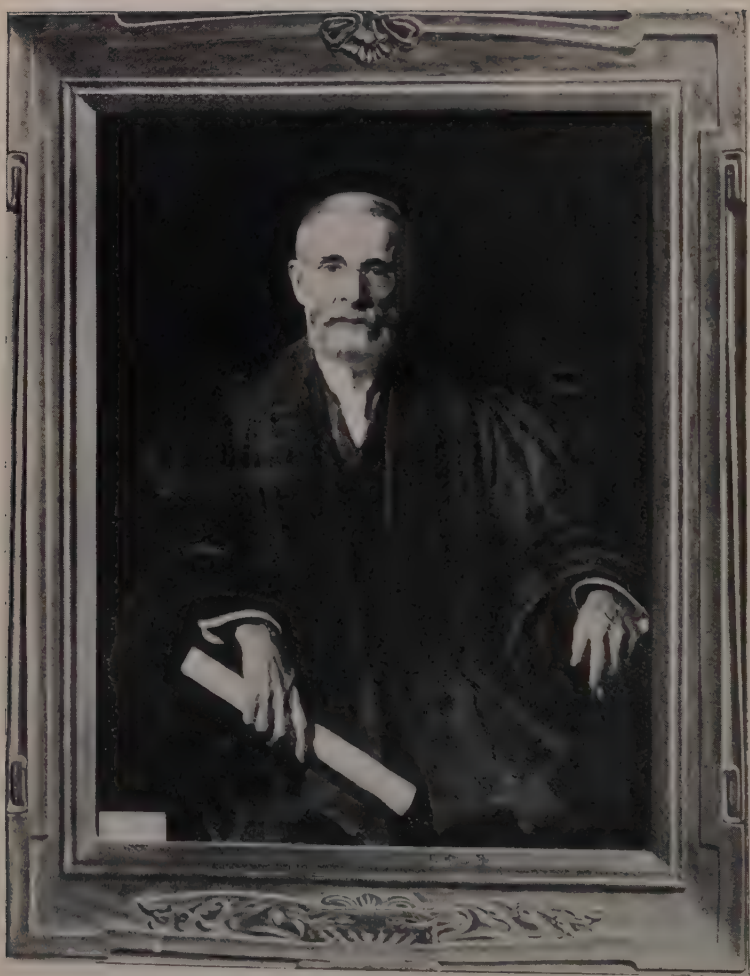
“Now rose thy walls, Old Zion, which have stood
The dread assaults of wasting Time and flood.
Thou wast all our hope for many rolling years;
Shook with our joy; as often soothed our tears,
Poured out like rain drops from the smitten cloud,
When the live, vaulting thunder rifts its shroud.
Thou wert our Forum, scene of many a sport
In Pleasure’s drama and Ambition’s court.
Here too our village beauties rushed to see
The motley Indian dance, with savage glee:
Here was the patriot’s stand when border war
Chained his fierce dragons to the bloody car.
But our good guns and swords of burnished sheen,
Showed we were brave—a set of dangerous men.

We ‘went, saw, conquered’—not the foe—the meat
Our knapsacks held—then made a grand retreat!
We ran with eager haste from war’s alarms,
Covered with glory, to our shops and farms,
To hear the plaudits, ‘Patriots, well done.’
So thou, old pile, hast been our guiding star
In all these varied scenes of Peace and War.”

After the church was abandoned by the Territory in 1840, the members placed in the "Amen corners" some rough benches, with narrow backs. The rest of the house had just benches to be used as seats; but about 1845 it was furnished with comfortable pews. The first pulpit has been described. That was succeeded by a kind of tub concern that half encircled the preacher as he stood behind it. A third stand, a high and massive structure, "marbleized," and thought tasteful in its day, was set up as the pulpit. When taken down in 1862 there was found penciled inside of one of the columns, "August 22nd, 1845." But its day was brief, for in the thorough renewal of Old Zion in 1864 a neat, small stand of walnut took its place as the reading desk of the minister. On down to the year 1879 Old Zion, with a slight interruption in 1864, was used as the place of worship of the station. But in that year the two Methodist churches then in the city were united, and the services taken to the larger edifice on Division Street. Later the old property was sold, the new owners taking the old building, and the adjacent parsonage, down, and erecting on the site a theater. It may be that, in the change that came over the growing city, a new site for the church became a desirable thing. Yet it seems sad that a spot where the people of God had so long gathered for worship, which had been solemnly dedicated to its sacred uses, and which had become hallowed by its associations in the memories of thousands, should now be given up to the giddy throng of fashion, intent alone upon creature enjoyment, to the neglect of the higher duties that pertain to a better and safer life.

FUR TRAPPING IN IOWA.—The rivers and creeks in the interior and western parts of Iowa are said to be perfectly thronged with beavers and minks, to say nothing of myriads of other animals whose hides are sought by the trappers. Beaver Creek, which empties into the Cedar at Cedar Falls, is dammed at very frequent intervals by the industrious and enterprising rodents from which it takes its name. They have not been as plenty before for several years. The trapper's field of labor is a large one, and great numbers of them are "picking up their traps" and preparing to reap their harvest. Prices are likely to be remunerative.—*Sioux City Register*, Dec. 31, 1859.





WILLIAM FLETCHER KING, D. D., L. L. D.

Portrait in the collections of the Historical Department of Iowa, by Ralph Clarkson, Chicago, 1910.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

HISTORICAL PORTRAIT COLLECTIONS.

Nearly every state in the Union has done and is doing something by way of collecting and preserving its historical materials. All are refusing to destroy the documentary materials accumulated through the administration of state business, and many are making efforts to acquire, preserve and display for the public benefit these illustrative materials. Thus are being formed not only the excellent collections of books in the different state libraries, but there are also being created some most valuable collections of object materials as well, which are even more instructive than books to the mind of many classes of citizens. These form the State Museums.

Iowa has taken an advanced position among Western commonwealths, favoring what the late Doctor G. Brown Goode made so much of, namely, popular museum education. Special effort has been made to well illustrate by portraiture the lives of the eminent men of the State. It is often a tremendous task to secure an appropriate record of the forms and faces of men of whom it would seem easy to record in writing a good account.

The Historical Department of Iowa, having been more fortunate than similar activities in some other states, wishes to present through *The Annals* some of the considerations that have brought its portrait collection into favorable notice, and thus answer frequent inquiries in relation to this part of the work. There is scarcely a month in which we are not requested to give to some official, society, department or other functionary, an account of our methods.

It is assumed that any Iowa person who has performed such a part as to imprint himself upon the records of the State or Nation, and who inevitably will be encountered in a reasonably exhaustive research into the period of his activities, is an historical personage. It may be that his influence will be found solely in the nature of public duty, as in civic or military office. It may be wholly within a private sphere, as in business. Or it may have a semi-public quality, as in educational or eleemosynary enterprise. Wherever there was an influence, the weight and result of which contributed much to progress, that influence emanated from an historic character.

In the investigations that are being made or that may be made into Iowa and Western history, there are vast hindrances to the complete knowledge of men and events of no more remote a period than the opening of the Civil War. The aids that do exist are almost as numerous and quite as valuable among collections derived from private individuals as from deposits in public archives. Therein lies much of the peculiar value of biographical and genealogical materials, so eagerly sought by the Historical Department of Iowa. Value that lies in documentary evidence of the life of a man lies also proportionally in all records of his personality. Hence our zeal in obtaining the best possible portraits as well as documentary materials of Iowa people. A potent precedent consulted in our labors is the rule of the National Portrait Gallery of London:

“The rule which the Trustees desire to lay down to themselves in either making purchases or receiving presents is to look to the celebrity of the person represented rather than to the merit of the artist. They will attempt to estimate that celebrity without any bias to any political or religious party. Nor will they consider great faults and errors, even though admitted on all sides, as any sufficient ground for excluding any portrait which may be valuable as illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical or literary history of the country.”

The Historical Department of Iowa recognizes in its portrait feature a duty no less important, relatively, than is that of the greater institution of England. It designs to benefit

the same elements of our society, present and future, as are the beneficiaries of that enterprise. Iowa and England have practically the same area. They do not differ in their civil, ecclesiastical or literary history, as they do in population, or wealth, and not so much in these, perhaps, as in their respective wealth of art, and other instrumentalities for culture. The English people can not be more prone to cherish their collections than is the tendency with us, and meeting this obligation is the incentive of our work in portrait collecting. We are moved to industry in the work that even England was without until toward more modern times.

Taking, then, as the basis for our efforts in portrait collecting, the purpose of illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical, military, business and literary history of Iowa, we have determined for us, by documentary sources, the names of personages, of whose lives we wish all that is obtainable, especially including portraiture in some of its various forms. Iowa newspapers, legislative journals, minutes of ecclesiastical conferences and military reports, afford fair aids to the discovery and appraisement of men of prominence, and the contents of these publications almost determine the weight of a personality. Discovering, for instance, a movement and a leader, who is by us forgotten, but whose personal history is necessary to an adequate study of present or past phases of our development, we feel it incumbent upon us to have at hand for the present, and particularly for the future, ample aids to an understanding of him and his purposes.

Our efforts in this direction result in the acquisition of biographical material, embracing portraits in some form. These may be daguerreotype or tin type; zinc, copper or steel engraving; mechanical or hand work; on paper or canvas; in color or in black and white; in miniature or heroic proportions; in sculpture, whether plaster, bronze or marble; in the original or duplicate; whether the subject be living or dead, the artist known or unknown, and the object be a gift or a purchase, to be displayed on walls, in cases or bound in volumes, the point is that there be obtained something; the

very best obtainable, whatever that may be. Hence our portrait collection is, and ought to remain, primarily an historical collection, influenced, enhanced, but not dominated by rules and reasons of high art.

Of course our highest aim is a portrait done in oil at the height of the vigor and fame of the subject and the best in point of fame, style and medium of the artist.

But it is impossible to fix, and unwise to desire, an absolute standard of art merit in a collection, or to disparage the acquisition and display of the inferior in art value of portraits of men whose lives and labors are worthy of commemoration. Of standards there are almost as many as there are critics. The point to be considered is whether a given portrait of a given man is the best portrait of that man and not whether that portrait be a work or in a class esteemed alone by the art connoisseur. The art value, it must be remembered, is not an element of indifference; far from that. It is indeed, scarcely even secondary. But where the consideration is for the subject and not for the artist, the loftiest thought is: Does it, of all available records, the most permanently and fairly represent the face, form and spirit of the subject.

VISIT FROM THE INDIANS.—On Tuesday forenoon last the quiet stillness of our city was somewhat disturbed by a visit from a band of Sioux Indians, numbering about fifty, and accompanied by Chief "Mad Bowl." They entered the city in regular order, marching in straight lines, and keeping step to a rude, wild song, accompanied by an instrument somewhat resembling a tambourine, beat upon with a stick. They were arrayed in their best blankets and woolen leggings, their faces painted with gaudy colors, and their heads decorated with flaunting feathers. Their chief was seated upon a fine pony, and rode with all the dignity of a monarch. It was altogether the best representation of our Dacotah neighbors we have ever seen, and the appearance they presented was truly novel and interesting. . . .

They visited Kennerly, of the firm of Frost, Todd & Co., a gentleman widely known and much respected among the Sioux Indians, who gave them about \$30 worth of provisions. They also visited other stores, and in the afternoon departed, laden with about one hundred dollars' worth of provisions given them by our merchants.—*Sioux City Eagle*, Dec. 12, 1857.

JUSTICE SAMUEL F. MILLER AND HIS FIRST CIRCUIT COURT.

Soon after his appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Lincoln, pursuant to the Act of July 15, 1862, reorganizing the Federal Circuits and creating the Ninth circuit (comprising Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Minnesota), Samuel F. Miller came to Des Moines to institute the Circuit Court provided for under that act. Some of the facts incident to the organization of the new court over which he presided until his death, October 13, 1890, are worth reproduction.

The court was convened at Sherman's Hall, Third Street and Court Avenue, Des Moines, Tuesday, November 11, 1862, Judge Miller presiding, with District Judge J. M. Love also sitting. The officers of the court were Judge W. G. Woodward, Clerk, Wm. H. F. Gurley, District Attorney, and H. M. Hoxie, Marshal. After the ceremonies of opening, the first work transacted was the admission of a number of attorneys to practice in the Circuit court—among them, Benton J. Hall of Burlington, Judge James Grant of Davenport, Attorney General Charles C. Nourse of Des Moines, Henry Wiltse of Dubuque, Henry Strong and Col. John W. Rankin of Keokuk and Leroy L. Palmer of Mt. Pleasant.¹

One incident in the inauguration of the new court is interesting. The Clerk had no seal. Judge Woodward procured an instrument that he regarded as sufficient for temporary use. Some one questioned the validity of papers authenticated thereunder. Mr. J. S. Polk of Des Moines suggested that the seal ought to be engraved on a "plate of the precise size of a silver half dollar." Thereupon Judge Miller remarked: "You will find it difficult to get at the preciseness you speak of;

¹*The Daily State Register*, November 11, 1862.

for I believe *there is not a silver half dollar in town to measure by.*'² Those were days when the infusions of "red dog" and "wild cat" bank notes and depreciated Greenbacks were illustrating the efficacy of Gresham's law.

The efficiency and vigor of this court was noteworthy and impressed all observers. Although convened on Tuesday all cases on the docket were disposed of and the court adjourned by Saturday, November 15. "Judge Miller," observes a contemporary, "has the rare faculty of doing up business with remarkable dispatch. The record of the cases disposed of in one week is sufficient evidence of this fact. The judge has made a decidedly favorable impression in this initial term of the court in Iowa."³

On Tuesday, May 13, 1863, Judge Miller opened the second session of the court, again in Sherman's Hall. As at the first session admission of attorneys to practice was first ordered. Among those admitted were Judge J. Perkins of Adel, J. W. Thompson of Davenport, Daniel F. Miller of Ft. Madison, Charles T. Ransom of Iowa City, and H. Scott Howell of Keokuk. The account of the proceedings intimates that one prominent attorney of Warren county desired admission, but owing to his pronounced antipathy to the course of President Lincoln's Administration in the Civil War, declined to take the oath of allegiance entailed.⁴

This second session was noteworthy for two reasons: First, because of the character of the instructions given the Grand Jury by Judge Miller; second, because of sundry important decisions rendered and verdicts found. The instructions were delivered orally to the Grand Jury. Either the substance of charge or the vigor of the Judge's delivery so impressed the attorneys in attendance that "the entire bar, irrespective of party, united in a request that he should write it out for publication, and he therefore complied with their wishes."⁵ The various subjects touched upon in the instructions indicate the many phases of the stress in which the people of the State were

²*Ibid*, Nov. 16.

³*Ibid*, Nov. 18. ⁴*Ibid*, May 15, 1863. ⁵*Ibid*, May 16.

at the time. Those portions relative to treason and conspiracy to interfere with national authority had peculiar interest to the public because several prominent citizens of Iowa in the year preceding had been summarily arrested and incarcerated in national forts or in Federal prisons, on charges of treasonable utterances or of conspiracy. The Charge entire follows:

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:—You are called here for the purpose of assisting in the administration of the criminal laws of the country. The frame of our Government is peculiar in the co-existence of two law-making powers, exercising jurisdiction over the same people. They are, however, well defined in the class of subjects to which their legislative powers respectively extend. The Federal or national government has confided to it by the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land, the exclusive right to legislate upon certain classes of subjects and the state governments have in like manner exclusive control over certain other classes of subjects. Each of these grand divisions of the political power has its courts, separate and distinct from each other, to administer the laws which each has a right to enact, and you are here today as a part of the National Court, with the duty imposed upon you to inquire into the violations of the nation's laws.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. This duty it has performed; and in order to protect the people from spurious, depreciated or counterfeited coins, laws have been passed to punish those who may attempt to impose such on the public. There are laws of a highly penal character against counterfeiting the coin of the nation, against uttering or putting in circulation any counterfeit coin, against having such coin in possession with intent to pass it on, and against having in possession the instruments for making it.

The Government of the Union has the right to borrow money, and as a necessary incident to this power it has the right to issue bonds, notes and other securities. These securities are liable to be counterfeited, and the signatures of the proper officers forged. The Congress has therefore passed stringent laws for the punishment of any person who shall forge or counterfeit these securities, or who shall knowingly put such counterfeits into circulation, or have them in possession with intent to do so. Into all these offenses it is your duty to inquire, and make presentment if they are found to exist. And since the securities of the Government, in the shape of Treasury notes have become the principal circulating medium of the country, it is very important that the public should be protected from a counterfeit issue of them.

There are laws for the protection of the mail, the carrying of which is another subject of exclusive federal control. Into the various postoffice repositories are placed every day millions of dollars, in drafts, notes, and bank bills, and equivalents of money. The letters which are carried by mail contain the confidential secrets of a thousand hearts, which if exposed to the public would involve the happiness of as many families. The temptation to the officers who have the handling of these letters to open them, to learn their contents, and to appropriate their wealth, is of the strongest character; and experience has proved that the severe punishments which the law provides for these offenses, and for robbing the mail, have yet failed to secure perfect protection. I invite your attention to this subject, as one closely connected with one of the best interests of society.

There are laws against destroying the timber upon the national domain, and against trading with the Indians (who have recently become so troublesome upon our borders) which you may be called upon to enforce, but of which I cannot now speak more definitely.

There is another class of laws, gentlemen, to which I feel it to be my duty to call your attention, which I do with the utmost pain and reluctance. I mean those laws which relate to the preservation of the Government itself. When our fathers, shortly after our independence as a nation had been recognized by the mother country, proceeded to establish our present form of government, and presented to the world a written constitution as its foundation, it was received by the statesmen of Europe with general distrust and failed to command the universal confidence of our own. Based substantially upon the Democratic idea, of the right of the people to govern themselves, and relying upon a written fundamental law to bind together the people of numerous states, with varied interests, it was confidently predicted that its duration would be short and its end inglorious. Three-quarters of a century of prosperity, of growth, of addition of territory and population, of increase of wealth and power unparalleled in the history of any other nation had taught us to laugh at these predictions. The increasing love and devotion of the people to their government, and the pride with which they cherished the common glory of the nation, had led us to believe that its destruction by their own act, or that of any considerable portion of them was scarcely to be dreamed of. We had fondly hoped that the principle of obedience to the laws, which equally with the love of liberty has characterized in all ages, the people of the Anglo-Saxon race, would safely carry us through all the trials to which our form of government might be subjected.

Recent events which constitute a prominent part of the world's history, have taught us that our feeling of security was not well founded. The present wicked and causeless rebellion tells us plainly that the passions and thirst for power of ambitious men may in this country and this age, as it has in other countries and other times, prove too powerful for the memories of the past, and the hopes of the future as they are bound up in our present Constitutional Government. It has also taught us the value, nay the absolute necessity of obedience to the laws.

Treason against the United States consists only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. To constitute the crime of treason, some overt act is necessary. That is, something more than mere expression of thought or opinion. Some act must be performed toward carrying the treasonable purpose into execution. And before conviction can take place this act must be proved by two witnesses. There can be no doubt that all those now or heretofore engaged in the Rebellion are guilty of treason, and that their lives are forfeited to the law, but I am happy in the opinion that no *actual* treason has been committed in Iowa. If, however, your researches should unfortunately prove the contrary, it will be your duty to bring the fact before the court.

In reference to the probability of violations of another law of analogous character, I fear I am not justified in entertaining an opinion so agreeable.

Very soon after the Rebellion broke out, the Congress of the Union finding that the Nation was engaged in a struggle which seriously threatened its existence, passed a law concerning conspiracies. By this statute it is provided, that when two or more persons shall conspire or confederate together, for the purpose of destroying or overthrowing the government of the United States, or forcibly resisting the execution of the laws, or any officer of the government in the lawful exercise of his authority, they shall be guilty of a conspiracy, and punished by fine and imprisonment. You will observe in the construction of this law that it requires two or more persons to agree upon a concerted course of action, but it does not require that the action itself should take effect as in the case of treason. It is sufficient if the agreement is made, or the resolution taken to act in concert, for any of the purposes mentioned in the act. You will observe that it relates to the purpose of forcible resistance to the law, and that the conjoint formation of this purpose, by two or more persons, constitutes the crime.

The right of the citizens to discuss, and by peaceable means to endeavor to procure the repeal or modification of an obnoxious

law or the change by legal means of an officer of the government for one more satisfactory, is unquestionable. On the other hand the duties of obedience to the law, while in force, and of submission to those in authority so long as that authority exists, is equally clear and if possible more essential to the public safety. No government can, even in time of peace, long tolerate a violation of its laws without rapidly tending to decay. Much less can it in time of war, a war which threatens its own dissolution, permit those who are receiving its protection to conspire for its overthrow.

Those who are loudest in their complaints against the government at the present time profess to be peculiar champions of the law and the Constitution. They surely should unite with us in the effort to enforce vigorously in this hour of our national calamity, the laws which are made for the security of all, and the preservation of the government in which all are so vested.

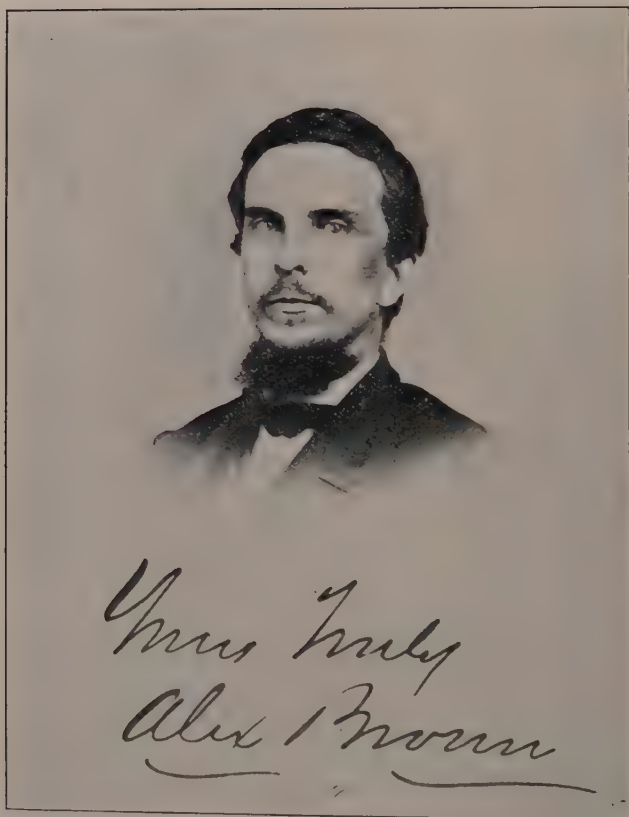
Satisfied that you, gentlemen, aided by the honorable District Attorney, will do your duty in the premises, I commit these matters to your charge."

The following gentlemen composing the Grand Jury received the foregoing instructions.

N. Baylis, [Baylies], Foreman, J. P. Foster, Clerk, W. F. Ayres, Wm. H. Bigelow, W. M. Calfee, A. N. Comstock, Owen Edgerton, J. K. Hobaugh, J. M. Holladay, J. C. Jordan, John Jack, Lewis Jones, J. K. Lyon, D. Limpus, S. H. Reynolds, Wm. S. Pritchard, Geo. M. Swan, John L. Smith.⁷

The foreman, Nicholas Baylies, was a resident of Polk county, near Des Moines. Prior to his removal to Iowa he had had a creditable career as a lawyer, legislator and District Judge in Vermont. Under his foremanship we are told the jury "opened its sessions each morning with prayer." This practice was regarded by *The Register* as a "hopeful and refreshing indication of the earnestness and sincerity of the jurors." It was in "broad contrast with the usual customs adopted by rebel-sympathizing inquisitions."⁸ Whether the supplication was the result of the piety of the presiding judge or of the foreman or of the jurors, or the expression of their feelings in view of the awesome character of the dangers threatening the public or their persons in those troublous times is not clear. The practice does not appear to have been continuous in the courts.

⁷*Ibid*, May 16. ⁸*Ibid*, May 13. ⁹*Ibid*, May 17.



ALEXANDER BROWN, 1863.

A number of the officials of the national government under President Buchanan, the Postmasters at Ft. Dodge, Iowa City and West Point, and the Receiver of Public Monies at Decorah, were adjudged in default in their accounts and judgments against them and their bondsmen for serious sums were entered on the record. Among the important civil suits decided were, *J. Edgar Thompson vs. the County of Lee*, and *Rogers vs. the City of Burlington*, in which Judge Miller held certain issues of bonds in aid of railroads invalid, concurring therein in the holding of the Supreme Court of Iowa. In *Walkley vs. the City of Burlington*, in which the plaintiff sought to mandamus the city council to appropriate monies to pay a judgment, he granted an alternative writ allowing the city until the next term of court to show cause why such a writ should not issue. Another interesting case was *Jacob Edwards, et al., vs. Addison Daniels, et al.*, in which a plea of usury was set up in defense against an attachment issued to realize on promissory notes. Judge Miller held that where notes made in Iowa, payable in Boston, are usurious by the laws of both states, the effect will be governed by the laws of Iowa; whereas in the case of notes made in Boston and payable in Boston the full amount specified on the face of the notes may be received; the court in the latter case would not enforce the penal law of usury of Massachusetts.⁹ In the two cases last mentioned, Mr. S. V. White, for forty years past a notable figure in Wall Street, was one of the attorneys. He was then a resident of Des Moines.

F. I. H.

⁹The cases mentioned are not reported in Woolworth's *Circuit Court Reports*—Justice Miller's *Decisions*. Brief mention of the rulings may be found in the *Daily State Register*, May 19, 20, 22.

ALEXANDER BROWN, HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

The life of Alexander Brown, of whom an article by his life-long friend, Hon. Robert Sloan, appears elsewhere in this number of *The Annals*, is of the type most useful in the early

stages of the development of a community. The writer was a student under him, and later his law partner, and was brought up among influences of which his life was one of the strongest.

Hugh Brown, the father of Judge Brown, left Scotland and settled in Luzerne county, Pa. His oldest child, a daughter in her teens, remained in Scotland, as was intended temporarily. This temporary arrangement became permanent, and she never afterward saw her parents. She lived to a great age, and died, within two miles of the home of Robert Burns. She maintained an interest and love for her family in America through correspondence. The letters she exchanged with her brother, Judge Brown, whom she never saw, are a most interesting source of information on early emigration. From Pennsylvania, Hugh Brown brought his family to Keosauqua, Van Buren county, Iowa, in 1844. A daughter, Sarah, was married to James Johnston, their only child being the late Captain Benjamin Johnston, who died in the United States service as consul at Ceiba, Honduras. He had served as a Private in Company E, 15th Iowa Regiment Volunteer Infantry, and as First Lieutenant in Company G, 67th U. S. C. Infantry. In 1844 Hugh Brown and James Johnston established the first steam power mill at Keosauqua. It was erected upon ground the title to a part of which was in doubt. They took possession under a quit claim deed executed by ninety citizens of the town, with the understanding that as these were all the freeholders there, no one could possibly make adverse claim. The deed, dated July 21, 1844, now in the collections of the Historical Department of Iowa, bears the autograph signatures of John Fairman, James Hall, Edwin Manning, Meshach Sigler, and other proprietors of the town of Keosauqua, and of no less important men in the political and business world than Richard Humphrey, James B. Howell, Elisha Cutler, Jr., Henry Heffleman, James M. Shepherd, George G. Wright, Andrew J. Davis, Henry H. Barker, James Kinnersly, John McCrary and Charles Baldwin.

Upon this title, whose value lay perhaps in a moral support rather than on a legal foundation, there was launched an enterprise of large significance, to that place and in that day.

Here as a boy, Judge Brown acquired in mechanics that ingenuity which he exercised in accounts and in the management of men. And in the same enterprise, in different capacities, a training was given to his brother, James Brown, for a long time at the head of the state school for the blind at Vinton, and his brother, John G. Brown, the earliest bank cashier in Van Buren county, having at the time of his death served in the banking house of Edwin Manning almost from its inception. Another brother, Hugh G. Brown, who enlisted in Company E, Fifteenth Iowa Volunteers, was appointed Second Lieutenant, December 1, 1861; promoted to First Lieutenant, July 9, 1862; aid-de-camp with rank of Captain, August 28, 1863; Brevet Major, September 29, 1864; Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, March 31, 1865; and Major, April 26, 1898. After being mustered out of the volunteer service he entered the regular army as Lieutenant of the Eighteenth Infantry, was transferred first to the Thirty-sixth, then to the Twelfth Infantry. He was four times brevetted for gallant and meritorious service, served for a time in the compilation of the Rebellion Records, and, after service in the Spanish-American war in the Philippines, retired May 16, 1899, and died at Keosauqua, November 30, 1901.

A sister, Anna, was married to Dr. William Craig, and was the mother of Lieutenant Collin P. Craig, who graduated from the United States Naval Academy, and died while in the service with the rank of Lieutenant. Thus may be seen something of the wealth of blood contributed to an Iowa settlement by one Scotch emigrant. The above named members of the family, and many others, lie buried near to each other, the body of Benjamin Johnston only recently having been returned from Ceiba, and interred by the United States Government in the family burial plot.

Judge Brown's preparation for his life's work was made at a time and under conditions which have more than once been noted in the writings and speeches of pioneer Van Buren county men. In the main, it was in the school of the Rev. Daniel Lane, which flourished during and before the Civil War, and in which were enrolled George W. McCrary Secretary of the Interior; Felix T. Hughes, Railway President; Samuel M. Clark, Editor and Member of Congress; William W. Baldwin, Lawyer and Railway Official; Thomas S. Wright, Railway Attorney; Samuel Elbert, Governor of Colorado; E. K. Valentine, Member of Congress from Nebraska; Edwin O. Stannard, Member of Congress, founder and President of the St. Louis Board of Trade. These are merely the names of a few of the most widely known. There were scores of young men and women prepared by Mr. Lane for the professions and active business life.

Judge Brown held the favor of a remarkable number of men who were either in themselves or were by blood or affinity closely related to men of the first importance in Iowa matters, both military and civil.

Judge Sloan has noted the law firms of the Keosauqua bar. The writer draws from notes of conversations with Judge Brown for further facts. There was an interesting relationship of individuals of firms, and of firm with firm, both in the early and more recent times. George G. Wright, besides being a strong and able man, was the brother of Governor Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, who for a time lived at Keosauqua. Rachel, a sister of these brothers, was the wife of Charles Baldwin, of the firm of Wright & Baldwin, and the mother of a generation of strong men and women, of whom William W. Baldwin of Burlington, Iowa, is the eldest. The sons of Judge Wright have enjoyed the leadership of the bar in Iowa. Another sister of Judge Wright was the mother of two daughters who were married respectively to Hon. Joseph C. Knapp, and Hon. Henry Clay Caldwell, two members of the firm of Knapp, Caldwell & Wright. George F. Wright, of the firm was not a relative of George G. Wright, but was the son of a

half-brother of Joseph C. Knapp. Pursuing the matter further, we find the oldest son of George G. Wright, Thomas S. Wright, chief counsel of the C., R. I. & P. Ry. at the time of his death, and the oldest son of Charles Baldwin, William W. Baldwin, assistant to the president of the C., B. & Q. Ry. system at the present time. These two eminent sons of eminent parents married respectively a sister and a niece of the late Major General James M. Tuttle. All these individuals were born or resided in Van Buren county before or during the Civil War. Mere kinship and nothing else is lacking in the beautiful and deep friendship and esteem always interchanged among themselves by these people, and the family of Edwin Manning. Mr. Manning inclined but slightly toward public life. He was the wealthiest citizen in the State in 1860, and for thirty years thereafter. Domestic life and business shared equally his interest and reflected equally great credit upon him. His house was made even more open to the Wright relationship by reason of its presiding genius, Mrs. Manning, the adopted daughter of Governor Wright. She came to Keosauqua to be mother to Mr. Manning's children of a former marriage in 1842 with Sarah J. Sample of Keokuk, who died in 1857. Mrs. Manning and Mrs. Knapp now reside in the homesteads erected by their distinguished husbands. They are the two resident survivors of that interesting group of pioneers, the others being Judge Henry Clay Caldwell and his wife of Los Angeles.

Judge Brown was never without the complete confidence and esteem of this old group. He was at times in the confidential employ of Edwin Manning, and was always a confidant and advisor of John G. Brown, his brother, whose long service and fidelity was a most important factor in the success of Mr. Manning. In his marriage Judge Brown was allied with a family of equal interest, for his wife was a daughter of Thomas Rankin, an ideal gentleman of the age and school of Charles Baldwin. The mother of Mrs. Brown was a daughter of Chappell Bonner, an intimate friend of the pioneer preacher, Samuel Clark.

But in his own life Judge Brown exemplified the peculiar value of his type of citizen. Besides the offices and honors mentioned by Judge Sloan, he religiously attended to, and efficiently performed the duties of Mayor of Keosauqua for years, and was a member of the Board of School Trustees continuously for twenty-four years.

This man actually withheld the appearance of suffering from the world, and only his intimates knew he was without freedom from pain ever after receiving his wound at Corinth. With such fortitude, and a genius for selecting the humor in a situation, and for gauging the capacity of his auditor for receiving it, his personality was a prism through which affairs passed into the lives of all he touched, only in such quality and character as were inspiring.

PERMANENT MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES.

The Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution have under consideration extensive plans for marking Iowa Historic Sites. As yet their services in this respect have been rather as individual chapters, and without special regard for a general state-wide movement. The Historical Department has urged the society to assume responsibility for a general if not uniform method of determining and appropriately marking historic sites, and has advanced through correspondence and public addresses by the Curator some reasons therefor. Responses have been received which give promise that widespread and significant results may be expected during the next year. So much present benefit is derived from the agitation for funds, the gathering of evidence as to sites and importance of events and persons commemorated, in the actual erection and ceremonies connected therewith, and in the positive and permanent influences for good that reside in a visible monument, that we feel very amply warranted in sharing the labor and meeting some expense on the part of the Historical Department.

Two very notable contributions to the purpose of marking historic sites in this State have been made recently by individual chapters. On October 28th the Jean Espy Chapter erected Lone Chimney Monument on the site and commemorating the establishment of old Fort Madison. Deputy U. S. Attorney George B. Stewart made the address at the ceremony of unveiling. The monument is a reproduction of the stone chimney of the old fort, for years a famous landmark, and the tablet placed where the fireplace would be bears the following inscription:

ERECTED 1908
BY
JEAN ESPY CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
ON SITE OF
OLD FORT MADISON,
BUILT 1808.
EVACUATED AND BURNED
BY GARRISON 1813.

Stars and Stripes Chapter at Burlington, on November 12th unveiled a beautiful tablet commemorating the use of Old Zion Church as the first capitol of Iowa. The bronze tablet attached to the wall of the Opera House which stands on the site of Old Zion Church, bears the following inscription:

THIS TABLET MARKS THE SITE OF
OLD ZION CHURCH, M. E.,
IN WHICH CONVENED THE FIRST LEGISLATURE
OF THE TERRITORY OF IOWA,
NOVEMBER 12, 1838.
ERECTED BY STARS AND STRIPES CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
NOVEMBER 12, 1910.

The program at the ceremony of unveiling consisted of an invocation by Dr. Eugene Allen, patriotic songs, an address of welcome by Mrs. H. C. Jordan, an address on "Old Zion Church" by Mr. J. L. Waite, an address on the Administration of Robert Lucas" by Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, the presentation of tablet by Mrs. G. A. Chilgren and acceptance by Mayor Cross on behalf of the city, and closing prayer by Rev. Naboth Osborne.

EARLY SUGGESTION FOR AN INEBRIATE ASYLUM.

The wisdom of maintaining at public expense a hospital for dipsomaniacs or inebriates is a subject now on the anvil of political discussion. The following letter written sometime in the month of September, 1863, will prove of interest.

Hon. I. M. Preston, Marion:

Sometime ago, you and I had some talk about our Lunatic Asylum, and I promised to put some ideas I then stated, in writing, and address them to you, which I now do, hoping that, in this way, the subject may be brought before the next session of the General Assembly either by the Linn County delegation or some other, and the matter looked to, and examined.

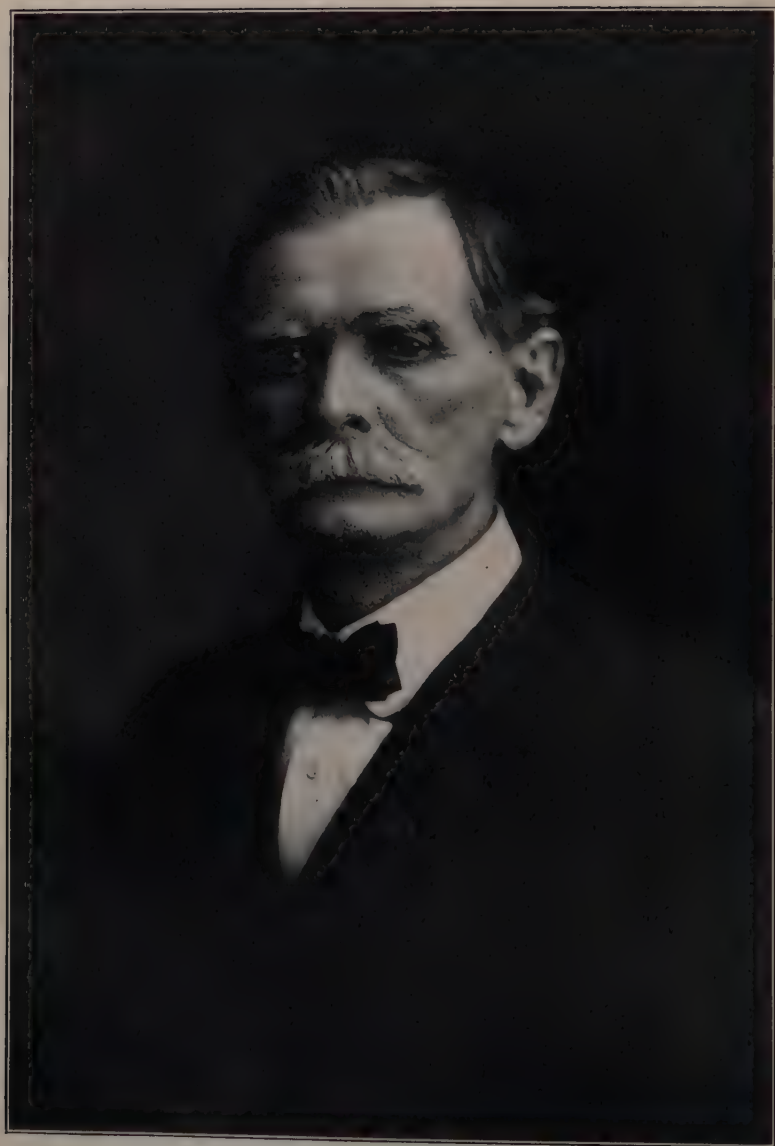
I believe that a man, who, being in all other respects clear in his intellect, has yet lost the power to resist the temptation of getting drunk, and becomes, in consequence, a periodical drunkard, is *insane*. He is no more master of his actions, while drinking, than a man insane from any other cause, and, even in his sober intervals, is not entirely master of himself.

But if such a man could be put under restraint from liquor for a sufficient time, he might acquire strength to abstain voluntarily; and if such restraint were possible under our law, some of the most brilliant men we have today, in the state, might be saved. You and I, and every man in every locality know instances of the kind to which I here allude. I believe that the state has a right to take custody of such men, on the complaint of their friends, and treat them for a time as insane; and I believe they, themselves, would be thankful for such treatment; because although they have lost all power of will to resist the opportunity of getting drunk, they are not blind to the destructive consequences.

If these ideas should be entertained, the State Lunatic Asylum, or a branch of it, might afford the necessary accommodations for a time. But an Inebriate Asylum, built somewhere in the center of the State is the thing to be ultimately looked to. A state takes rank as much from its charitable institutions as from its roads, or anything else. As to the expense, the State can bear it very well. You remember we were told in the sessions of 1855, that we should be ruined by appropriating so much for the Lunatic Asylum; but the State is not ruined yet, and has got an institution that is an honor to it. If you think as I do on this subject, try and turn public attention to it, and especially the attention of your county delegation to the next General Assembly. The more the subject is examined the stronger, I believe, will grow the conviction of the necessity of adopting some measure in the direction I am trying to point out.

W. W. Hamilton.

Cascade.



HARVEY REID.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

HARVEY REID was born in Argyle, Washington county, New York, March 30, 1842; he died at Maquoketa, Iowa, April 25, 1910. In 1844 his parents removed to Wisconsin. He received his education in the public schools of that state and at the University of Wisconsin. At seventeen he began teaching in the rural schools and alternated this with assisting his father as a merchandise clerk until 1862, when on August 7, he enlisted in Company A, Twenty-second Wisconsin Infantry. His regiment became a part of the Army of the Cumberland and with it Mr. Reid participated in the battles of Thompson Station and Brentwood. He was captured at Brentwood and confined in Libby prison for a month. After being discharged, he rejoined his command at Franklin, Tenn. His regiment, attached to the Twentieth Corps, was in Sherman's march to the sea, continued through the Carolinas and Virginia, and by way of Richmond to Washington, participating in the grand review. He received his discharge in July, 1865, and at once removed to Sabula, Iowa, where he entered the employ of the Iowa Packing Company as a bookkeeper. He retained that position until January, 1886, when he was elected county treasurer of Jackson county, remaining in that office for two terms, then entering the general mercantile field in Maquoketa. It is not merely as a brave soldier, a faithful public servant or as a loyal citizen that Harvey Reid has been most admired or should be longest remembered. It is for that quality that urges men beyond the confines of mere duty into the fields of love of friend or country, there to note and record merit. Harvey Reid witnessed no act, discovered no event which, if it had worth, passed his attention without respect, and if it were not recorded, without his share of effort to write its record. He had no pride of opinion nor desire for notoriety. Long after his physical strength seemed insufficient, he persisted in his efforts to locate and identify names of Iowa men belonging on the rosters of the Mexican War, and other pioneer military organizations, and this early military history is to become a part of the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, now in preparation. Mr. Reid was a contributor to *The Annals of Iowa*, and was the author of many narratives and historical sketches which have appeared in the "Annals of Jackson County," and elsewhere. His most important literary production was the life of Thomas Cox, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, a review of which appeared in the April number of *The Annals*.

STEPHEN F. BALLIET was born at Ligonier, Pa., Nov. 10, 1837; he died at Tonopah, Nevada, April 24, 1910. When a boy he removed with his parents to Illinois. He was educated at Knox College, Galesburg, and later entered the old Chicago University, now Northwestern University, taking his degree in law in 1877. Shortly after he removed to Iowa and began practice at Nevada. He removed to Des Moines in 1883. In 1890 he was elected to the district bench of Polk county, serving one term.

MAJ. A. S. CARPER was born at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, Aug. 8, 1838; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, May 11, 1910. Maj. Carper was always interested in politics, casting his first vote for president for Abraham Lincoln in 1860. When the first call for troops was issued, he enlisted in the Sixteenth Illinois volunteer infantry. At the end of three months he enlisted in the Fiftieth Illinois regiment, serving with distinction throughout the war, and winning several promotions. He came to Iowa in 1881, locating in Waterloo. In 1885, when Frank D. Jackson was elected secretary of state, Maj. Carper was chosen as his deputy. For eleven years he was chairman of the Polk county soldiers' relief society, and for a number of years was associated with Isaac Brandt in the real estate business. In 1901 he was appointed to a position in the office of Governor Cummins, and later was employed in the archives department. Maj. Carper was esteemed and respected by all who knew him.

CHARLES ABIATHAR WHITE was born at North Dighton, Mass., January 26, 1826; he died at Washington, D. C., June 29, 1910. He removed to Iowa in 1839. He attended the public schools at his home in Massachusetts and in Burlington, Iowa, prior to his matriculation at Rush Medical College from which he graduated in 1863. In 1866 he became state geologist of Iowa, continuing until 1870, and for the years 1867 to 1873 he was professor of natural history at the State University of Iowa. In 1873 he became professor of natural history at Bowdoin College, remaining two years. During 1874 he became attached to the United States Geographical and Geological Survey west of the 100th meridian under Lieut. J. M. Wheeler, in the capacity of geologist and paleontologist. In the same capacity he was with the surveys of Major John W. Powell in 1875 and 1876, and Ferdinand V. Hayden up to 1879. He had charge of the paleontological collections of the U. S. National Museum from 1879 to 1882, and in 1881 acted as Chief of the Artesian Wells Commission under the auspices of the U. S. Agricultural Department. In 1882 he was connected with the U. S. Geological Survey, and in 1883 as paleontologist, had charge of the Mesozoic vertebrates. He attained unequalled reputation as authority in certain branches of fossil life. The degree of A. M. was conferred on him by Iowa College in 1866, and that of LL. D. by the State University of Iowa in 1893. He was the author of over two hundred papers on scientific subjects, including a Report on the Iowa Geological Survey, 1870; Report on Invertebrate Fossils and Surveys West of the 100th Meridian, 1875; Bibliography of North American Invertebrate Paleontology, 1878; Review of the New Marine Fossil Mollusca of North America, 1883; Review of the Fossil Ostreidae of North America, 1883; Contributions to the Paleontology of Brazil, 1887; the Relation of Biology to Geological Investigation, 1894. He was one of the earliest and staunchest friend of Mr. Charles Aldrich in his work of founding the Historical Department of Iowa, and his contributions of specimens, manuscripts and articles for publication, have formed a most valuable part of these collections. A more adequate sketch of the life of Dr. White will later appear in *The Annals*.

JOHN KINGSLEY MACOMBER was born in Northampton, Mass., Feb. 2, 1849; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, May 2, 1910. At the age of fourteen he removed with his father's family to Cass county, Iowa, and was engaged at that early age as an employe of a stage line

across Iowa. He was of a cultured and studious turn of mind, and secured an elementary education with very little assistance. He taught school between the age of fifteen and twenty, and with funds thus earned attended the State Agricultural College at Ames, graduating therefrom in 1872. He then went to Cornell University, where he took a course in law, and later attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, securing a most liberal education before he became attached to the faculty of the college at Ames as professor of mathematics. This work he continued for five years. He then removed to Des Moines and engaged in the practice of law. He was soon elected city attorney, and some of the litigation which he instituted and successfully prosecuted has been of permanent value to the city and State. A similar capacity for effective work was exemplified in his administration of the office of county attorney of Polk county. He was a strong candidate before the Polk county primaries for judge of the district court at the time of his death.

GEORGE HENRY WILLIAMS was born in Columbia county, New York, March 23, 1823; he died at Portland, Ore., April 4, 1910. He was educated at Pompey College, Onondaga county, New York, admitted to the bar in 1844, and removed to Ft. Madison, Iowa, soon thereafter. He soon formed a partnership with Daniel F. Miller, at that time prominent among the lawyers of Iowa territory. He was elected judge in the first Iowa district in 1847, serving until 1852. In the latter year he was democratic presidential elector and canvassed Iowa for Franklin Pierce in 1852. After his election President Pierce appointed Mr. Williams chief justice of the territory of Oregon. He was re-appointed to the office by President Buchanan, but declined. He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of Oregon in 1858, and was chairman of the judiciary committee of that body; he was elected U. S. senator from Oregon as a union republican, serving from 1865 to 1871. He was a member of the Joint High Commission in 1871 which arranged the treaty at Washington for the adjustment of differences between Great Britain and the United States, growing out of the Alabama claims. He was Attorney-General of the United States from 1871 to 1875, and was nominated by President Grant as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1874, but his name was withdrawn. He was in the continuous practice of the law at Portland, Ore., after 1875. He served as mayor of Portland from 1902 to 1905, was president of the Business Girls Aid Society and of the Pattison Home for the Aged.

THOMAS MILTON FEE was born at Feesburg, Brown county, Ohio, April 18, 1839; he died at Centerville, Iowa, April 13, 1910. He was educated in the common schools of his native State and in the Academy at Perry, Ill. He removed with his family to Pike county, Illinois, in 1847. After finishing his education he became a teacher, his first experience being at Shibley's Point, Mo., in 1858. About this time he removed to Ottumwa, Iowa, where he became principal of schools. He took up the study of law in the office of Col. Samuel W. Summers, of Ottumwa, and was admitted to the bar in 1862. In May of that year he entered the practice of his pro-

fession at Centerville, continuing his residence and profession there the remainder of his life. In August, 1862, he enlisted in Company G, Thirty-sixth Iowa Infantry. He was chosen captain, receiving his commission from Governor Kirkwood October 4, 1862. He was captured with the entire brigade, of which his company was a part, at the battle of Mark's Mills, and for ten months was a prisoner at Tyler, Texas. He was exchanged in March, 1865; for a time was assistant inspector-general on the staff of Gen. Shaler, and also inspector-general of the Seventh Army Corps, commanded by Gen. J. J. Reynolds. He was mustered out at Duval's Bluffs, Ark., August 24, 1865. He was elected district attorney of the Second Iowa judicial district in 1874, and at the end of his service received the nomination of the Republican party for judge in the same district, but was defeated. In 1894 he was again nominated and elected, continuing on the bench until January 1, 1902, when he voluntarily retired. He was a prominent Mason, a member of the I. O. O. F., the Elks, the G. A. R. and the Loyal Legion.

LEWIS O. BLISS was born at Union Springs, Cayuga county, New York, July 29, 1826; he died at Iowa Falls, Iowa, April 21, 1910. He removed to Sheffield, Ohio, in 1834, and was educated at Kingsville Academy. He taught school for three years in Ohio and Kentucky, then engaged in the mercantile business in Ashtabula, Ohio. In 1854 he removed to Grant county, Wisconsin, where he engaged in business, but shortly afterward removed to Elliot, Minn., remaining until 1864, when he removed to Iowa Falls, Iowa. He established a mercantile business in Iowa Falls with William Wilde as his partner, continuing this partnership for many years. He was a member of the House of Representatives from Hardin county in the Fourteenth General Assembly.

JERRY M. WILSON was born near Canaan, Ind., July 16, 1842; he was killed by lightning near Winterset, Iowa, June 25, 1910. When he was about two years of age his parents removed to Adair county, Iowa, and established one of its earliest home circles. In 1862 he enlisted in Company I, 4th Iowa Cavalry, and served until the close of the war. With his regiment he participated in the siege of Vicksburg. In 1852 he removed to Union township, Adair county, to land upon which he resided for fifty-eight years and until his death. He was a strong, active citizen, serving as a member of the board of supervisors for a number of years and as chairman of that body when the Madison county court house was built in 1891. He was elected to the House of the Iowa Legislature in 1899, serving one term and refusing to be a candidate for a second nomination. At the time of his death he was president of the organization whose plan it is to build an electric traction line from Creston to Des Moines.

DAVID STEWART was born in Huntingdon county, Pa., March 24, 1830; he died at North Liberty, Jackson county, Iowa, June 10, 1910. He received a common school education and engaged with his father in the operation of a woolen mill at his native place, until 1852, when he began to read medicine in Pine Grove, Center

county, Pa., attending at the same time the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. He later studied and received a degree at Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1855. He began the practice at Colerain Forge, Pa., but removed to Pontiac, Ill., in 1857, thence to Jackson county, Iowa, in 1860. He served as captain of Company E, 28th Iowa Infantry, and was promoted to the rank of regimental surgeon. He served as army surgeon for one year, and retired on account of ill health, being mustered out in July, 1863. He was for over forty years one of the prominent practitioners in his county and was a leader in every form of activity. He was especially prominent in the councils of the Republican party, being elected by that party to the state Legislature, serving in the House of the 13th General Assembly. He was a candidate again in 1892 and was defeated.

JOHN A. KASSON was born at Charlotte, Vt., Jan. 11, 1822; he died in Washington, D. C., May 19, 1910. He was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1842; studied law and was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts in 1845; removed to St. Louis and engaged in the practice of law until 1857, when he became a citizen of Des Moines, Iowa. He was chairman of the Republican state central committee from 1858 to 1860 inclusive, and a delegate to the national Republican convention in Chicago which first nominated Lincoln for President. He was First Assistant Postmaster-General from 1861 to 1862. He was Commissioner on the part of the United States to the International Postal Congress in Paris in 1863, and again in 1867, when he negotiated postal conventions with Great Britain and other nations. He was elected to Congress from the 5th Iowa district, serving from 1863 to 1867. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives from 1868 to 1873, and from December 1, 1873, to March 3, 1877, he again served as a member of Congress. After declining a mission to Spain, he served as United States Minister to Austria from 1877 to 1881, and having been again elected to Congress, took his seat March 4, 1881, remaining until his appointment as Minister to Germany, July 4, 1884. He was president of the committee on the centennial celebration of the adoption of the constitution, held at Philadelphia in 1877; U. S. Commissioner to the Congo International Conference in 1885; Special Envoy to the Samoan International Conference in 1893; Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary to negotiate reciprocity treaties in 1897-1901; member of the American-Canadian Joint High Commission in 1898; President Columbia Historical Society; member National Geographical Society; member American Association for the Advancement of Science and of Washington Academy of Sciences. He was the author of "The Evolution of the United States Constitution" and "History of the Monroe Doctrine." He was one of the earliest and remained one of the most valuable assistants, advisers and donors of the Historical Department of Iowa, delivering the memorable oration at the laying of the cornerstone of the Historical Building, and presenting to the collection his commissions, much of his correspondence and many other valuable objects. A more extended biographical sketch will later be published in *THE ANNALS*, and in accordance with a plan formulated between Mr. Kasson and the late Mr. Charles Aldrich, founder and curator of the Historical Department, an adequate biography will in future be prepared under the direction of the Department.

WILLIAM P. WHIPPLE was born December 26, 1856, in Benton county, Iowa; he died at Vinton, in the same county, June 6, 1910. His parents entered the land upon which he was born, and from it he attended the common schools and the high school at Vinton. He graduated from the classical department of the State University in 1877, and from the law department in 1878. In August, 1878, he opened a law office in Vinton, associating with various partners until the time of his death. In 1879 he was elected city attorney, serving for many years. He was also for many years a member of the school board of Vinton, and most of the time was its president. In 1901 he was elected state Senator from the Benton-Tama district, being re-elected in 1906. He served in the 29th, 30th, 31st, 32d, 32d special and 33d General Assemblies. He assumed leadership in the second session of his service, when he introduced a resolution authorizing the appointment of an educational commission looking to the reorganization of the management of the State University at Iowa City, the Iowa College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, and the State Normal School at Cedar Falls. Out of the labors of this commission, of which Senator Whipple was chairman, came the present Iowa law and the Educational Board of Control under which the three institutions are now managed. This law, drafted by Senator Whipple, was defeated when first presented. He introduced it in the next session, somewhat changed in form, but it was again defeated. Not until its introduction in three different sessions was he able to secure its passage. This most important reform in the educational field of Iowa for a generation is a monument to Senator Whipple.

WILLIAM H. BAILEY was born in Colesburg, Iowa, April 5, 1850; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, May 10, 1910. He attended the University of Wisconsin and the University of Iowa, graduating from the latter in 1875. He entered the law practice at Independence, Iowa, as a partner of ex-Governor Frank D. Jackson. He was in the practice at Spirit Lake for ten years, removing to Des Moines in 1888. He served as city solicitor of North Des Moines, then a separate corporation from Des Moines. He became a member of the firm of Guernsey & Bailey, with Nathaniel T. Guernsey as senior partner, in 1895. At the time of his death he was senior member of the firm of Bailey & Stipp. Mr. Bailey distinguished himself in his attainment as an authority in the law of municipal corporations.

HOWARD DARLINGTON COPELAND was born at Marion, Ohio, August 19, 1853; he died at Chariton, Iowa, May 3, 1910. He was of a family of bankers. He was educated at the Ohio Wesleyan University. He removed to Chariton in 1873 to engage in the banking business with his uncles, Percy and Elijah Copeland, and remained in that business for nine years, when he became state bank examiner. In 1893 he founded the commission house of H. D. Copeland & Co., at the Union Stockyards in Chicago, serving as its president from its organization until his death. He organized the Burlington Savings Bank in 1904, serving as its president until 1906. He

became the president of the Chariton National Bank in 1907 and vice-president of the First National Bank of Rochester, Ind. He was one of the promoters of the fraternal organization of the Homesteaders, and its supreme treasurer. He was a member of the Republican state central committee for some time.

JOHN HOPWOOD MICKEY was born on a farm in Des Moines county, Iowa, September 30, 1845; he died at Osceola, Neb., June 2, 1910. He received his early education at home and in the common schools of Iowa. In August, 1863, he enlisted as a private in Company D, 8th Iowa Cavalry; was advanced to corporal and served on the field in the forces of Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta. After the war he entered the high school at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, and was later a student in the Iowa Wesleyan University. After spending some two years as a tenant on a Des Moines county farm, he removed to Polk county, Neb., to land for which the Government issued him its first homestead certificate from the land office at Lincoln. He served in the Nebraska Legislature and as officer in a number of business and financial institutions. He was elected Governor of Nebraska in 1902, and again in 1904.

JAMES K. MCGAVREN was born in Hardin county, Ohio, Dec. 19, 1846; he died at Monrovia, Cal., April 20, 1910. He came, with his parents, to Pottawattamie county, Iowa, in 1850. He received his education in the common schools and at Tabor College. He later studied law and was admitted to the bar in Harrison county in 1869. In the fall of the same year he removed to Seward, Neb., and became one of the first settlers of that town. After a residence of three and a half years in Nebraska, he removed to Missouri Valley, Iowa. He dropped the practice of the law and took up the loan and real estate business, in addition to his farm work. He served as mayor of Missouri Valley, as supervisor of Harrison county, and as county auditor. In 1889 he was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives, serving in the 23d General Assembly. Politically Mr. McGavren was always a Democrat. He was a member of the Odd Fellows' lodge of Missouri Valley, being one of its earliest members.

JOSEPH G. HUTCHISON was born in Northumberland county, Pa., September 11, 1840; he died at Ottumwa, Iowa, April 9, 1910. His father's ancestors were Scotch and those of his mother Irish. He graduated from the Williamsport Dickinson Seminary in 1862, entered the Union army August 10, 1862, as first lieutenant in the 131st Pennsylvania volunteer infantry, participating in the battles of Fredericksburg, Antietam and Chancellorsville. In the Gettysburg campaign he took part as Captain of Company I, 28th Pennsylvania volunteer infantry, mustered under a special call of President Lincoln to repel the Confederate invasion. He received special mention for bravery at the battle of Mary's Hill at the battle of Fredericksburg. After the war he resumed his course in the Cleveland law school, graduating in the spring of 1865, coming almost at once to Ottumwa, Iowa, when he entered into partnership for

the practice of law with Hon. E. H. Stiles. He remained in the practice until 1872, when he assisted in the organization of a number of very important enterprises which advanced the city of Ottumwa to the forefront as a western manufacturing center. He resumed the practice in 1875. In 1879 he was elected to the House and in 1881 to the Senate of the state Legislature, being re-elected to the Senate in 1884. He was a member of the ways and means and judiciary committees. The system of registration for elections was one of the best of his many good measures. He was nominated for Governor by the Republican state convention in 1889, being defeated at the election by Horace Boies. He promoted and for seven years served as president of the Ottumwa National Bank. In 1891 he established a wholesale grocery business bearing his name and retained its management while he lived. He was president of the Ottumwa Law and Order League. He was alert, courageous and most effective in his enterprises for the good of his community, and carried a state-wide reputation for honesty, integrity and nobility of character.

THOMAS W. HARRISON was born in Waukesha county, Wis., March 7, 1842; he died at Topeka, Kansas, May 21, 1910. He was educated in the common and high schools of Wisconsin and at the University of Michigan. He enlisted in the 10th Wisconsin volunteer infantry in May, 1861, and with his regiment participated in the battles of Perryville, Stone River, Chickamaugua, and the engagements about Atlanta. At Chickamaugua he was captured Sept. 20, 1863, and for ten months confined in Confederate prisons, being removed from one to another. On June 29, 1864, when on the way from the prison at Columbia to Andersonville, he made his escape by cutting through the bottom of the freight car in which he was being transported, and after traveling through the enemy's country, reached Sherman's army between Chattanooga and Atlanta. He continued in the army until August, 1865, receiving a commission as lieutenant-colonel for meritorious service. After the war Col. Harrison attended the law department of the University of Michigan, graduating in 1869. Upon his admission to the bar, he removed to Independence, Iowa, where he practiced for a short time, thence in 1870, to Emmetsburg. He served as county surveyor in 1871, and held a number of minor public offices. He did much to foster horticultural and agricultural enterprises in Palo Alto county. In 1883 he was elected a member of the lower house of the 20th General Assembly. Failing health in 1887 caused his removal to Topeka, Kansas, where he afterward resided. He was a writer on agricultural subjects and was an active member of fraternal societies, being a 33d degree Mason, and a member of the G. A. R., and of the Sons of the American Revolution.



Eng. by J. C. Buttre Co. N.Y.

William Salter

REV. WM SALTER DD

Dr. William Salter
In Memoriam

